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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXIII APRIL 1949 NUMBER 2

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*

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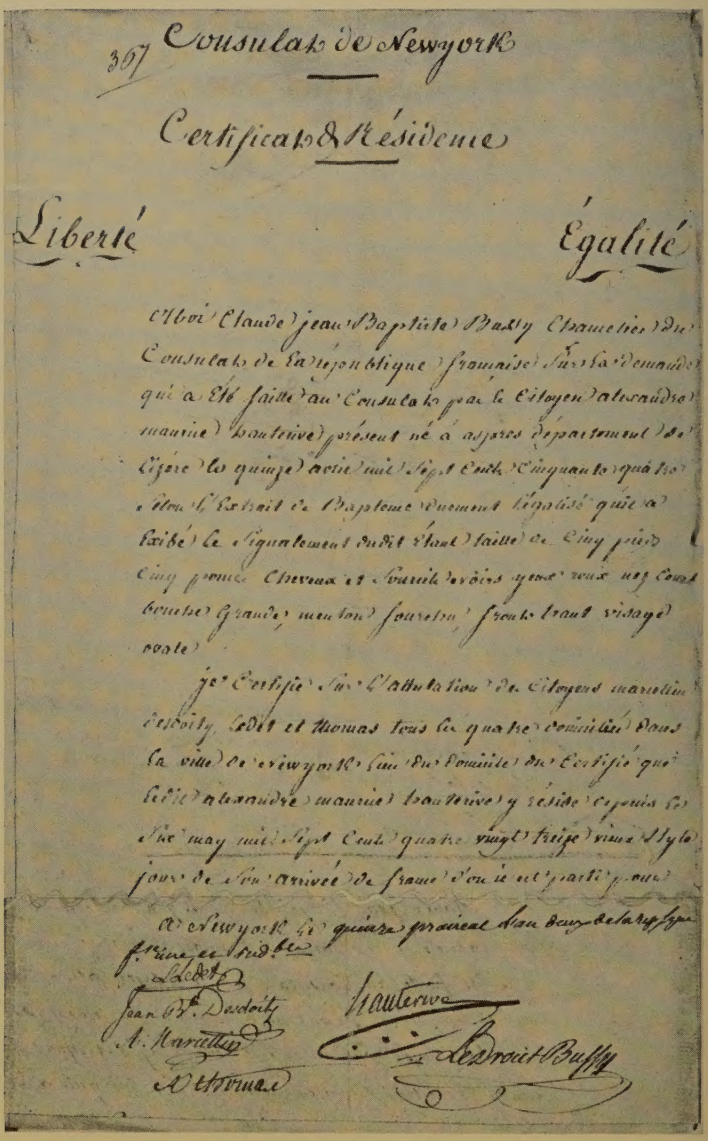

Consulat de New-York

Certificat de Résidence

Liberté Égalité

Nous Claude Jean Baptiste Bailly Chancelier du Consulat de la Nation Française sur la demande qui a été faite au Consulat par le Citoyen Alexandre Hauterive présent né à Aspres département de l'Isère de quinze actes mil sept cent cinquante quatre et Vu l'Extrait de Baptême duement légalisé qui a Existé le Signalement dudit Sieur fait de cinq pieds cinq pouces Cheveux et Sourcils noirs yeux noirs nez Court bouche Grande menton fourchu front haut visage ovale

Je Certifie sur l'attestation des Citoyens Marcellin Lesoilly Edit et Thomas tous les quatre domiciliés dans la ville de New-York Lieu du domicile du Certifié que ledit Alexandre Hauterive y réside depuis le dix may mil sept cent quatre vingt treize vieux stile jour de son arrivée de France d'où il part pour

A New-York le quinze prairial deux de la République Française une et indivisible

Le Dt
Jean Bte Dedoity
A. Marcellin
Thomas

Hauterive

Le Droit Bailly

HAUTERIVE'S CERTIFICATE OF RESIDENCE IN NEW YORK

May 6, 1793–June 3, 1794
Being pages [1] and [2] of the Hauterive Journal

The New-York Historical Society

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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THE HAUTERIVE JOURNAL

by FRANCES S. CHILDS *

AMONG the many rare and unusual documents in The New-York Historical Society Library is a journal kept for three months of 1793 by the French Consul in New York, Alexandre Maurice Blanc de Lanautte, Comte d'Hauterive. Written at a critical time for Franco-American relations by a man of superior ability, it is of both historical and human interest and well deserves recognition by scholars and students of the period.

Hauterive himself, though already in the late thirties, was still at the opening of his long diplomatic career. Born in Aspres-les-Caps in the French Alps, April 15, 1754, of a family distinguished rather than rich, he was educated by the Oratorian Fathers and began his career as a teacher for them. A post at Tours led however to an introduction to the Duc de Choiseul, which led in

* Dr. Childs, Assistant Professor of History, Brooklyn College, is author of *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790–1800* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), and of articles and reviews on related topics in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, the *French-American Review*, and other periodicals.

turn to his first diplomatic position in connection with the mission of Choiseul's nephew to Constantinople. His diplomatic salary, contrasting luridly with his teaching stipend, allowed him to go to Paris and to see something of the intellectual and social life of the salons, something of the life of the court, before his departure. From Constantinople the mission sent him as a Secretary to the Hospodar of Moldavia, a post tantamount to foreign minister, but which proved to be so lonely that he resigned and returned to Paris. Here he married Mme. de Marchais, the well-to-do widow of a naval intendant and *conseilleur d'état*. After a period of reading and study he asked de Lessert, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, for another appointment. None came however until after the fall of the monarchy, when he was sent to New York as consul for the Republic in 1793.[2]

As students of the period will remember, the year 1793 was a critical one for Franco-American relations. The French revolutionary government, relying on the favorable clauses of the Treaty of Amity of 1778, sent Citizen Genet as Minister to forward French interests in the United States. The newly created United States Government, realizing its limitations, had, however, after considerable debate, decided on a policy of neutrality, issued the so-called Declaration of Neutrality in April 1793, and decided, by a narrow margin only, to recognize the French Minister. Ignoring all this, Genet immediately started arming ships in American harbors, organizing prize courts and schemes for the conquest or emancipation of Florida, Canada, and Louisiana, even before his recognition; when finally forced to face the facts of his position, he made no effort to change or adjust his policy. A summer of mounting tension between the French Minister and the American Government ensued, alienating many friends of France and leading finally to Washington's request for Genet's recall.

[2] For further biographical data on Hauterive see Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, XVIII: 557–571; also Artaud de Montor A. F., *Histoire de la vie et des travaux politiques du Comte d'Hauterive* . . . . (2d ed.: Paris, 1839). For the diplomatic history of the period see S. F. Bemis, *Diplomatic History of the United States*.

During the opening skirmishes of this diplomatic battle—on May 6th, to quote his certificate of residence—Hauterive arrived in New York to take up his duties. His diary does not open until October 18th and, opening as it does with no preliminaries but with a statement of the accounts of the consulate only, is quite likely a fragment of a larger manuscript. From then on it is kept from day to day with few omissions through December 8th, when it breaks off to be picked up again some ten years later for a brief moment, and closed finally at the end of the year Eleven (1803), occupying in all one hundred quarto pages still in the original boards. It was apparently written up at the end of each day, hastily, fully, freely, for himself alone. It deals with the manifold concrete problems of the consulate; with the destitute anti-revolutionary refugees from Santo Domingo; with the French ships in the harbor short of personnel and provisions, with prizes and commercial problems, with Genet's schemes for armed expeditions, with the endless and repeated difficulties of making ends meet. It deals, too, with less concrete but more significant issues, with Genet's actions and philosophy and with the all-important question of Franco-American relations. All these themes Hauterive treats in a fluent style, enriched by humorous and vivid descriptions, by bursts of sarcasm and glimpses of deeper feeling. And all through the diary there are philosophical digressions, amusing, caustic, thoughtful, as the case may be. Consequently it is delightful reading.

As Hauterive's relations with Genet run all through his journal it is well to note them first. Older and wiser than Genet, Hauterive had to accept his authority; increasingly critical of his superior's policies, he could not say so openly but did say so to his journal. There he objected to Genet's interference in consular affairs, accused him of playing favorites and of choosing such undesirable friends as to prejudice the French cause. He was scornfully sarcastic about plans to conquer Florida and Canada on less than a shoestring. "The conquest of Florida is a chimera that makes up for everything. . . . There are two thousand men

here, six hundred there, Michau [x] is in Kentucky and the frigates will be able to dock broadside at Saint Augustine. . . . everything will go marvelously." And again: "Canada belongs to us. Two hundred Frenchmen are enough to oust the English from their posts. The Americans ask nothing better and here are 63 Irishmen who come to us from Santo Domingo. The address to the Canadians is gone, moreover it will appear in English and French in Greenlife [*sic for* Greenland?]. There is a conquest all made. . . ."[2]

In a more serious vein, after visiting the French barracks, Hauterive said: "We have here shops, magazines, a military hospital, an arsenal, sentinels coming and going, guns on their shoulders. It is as Mr. Jefferson says (shades of Richelieu) *une puissance dans une puissance*."[3] At first tolerant of this, Hauterive came to realize its serious implications. Looking at it from the French point of view, he said: "The only place on earth where troops are useless is in this country and we accumulate them here. . . . We will be asked, why have you wanted to build up an army, a fleet, a kingdom there where you were sent to buy wood and grain." From the American point of view: "What do the Boston merchants care whether you take New Providence, Canada, Florida, but if you take their vessels they will cry aloud."[4] The implications of Genet's insolence Hauterive feared. "True the United States is hostile to France, but accusations and denunciations by the French Minister are hostile acts too. Genet acts as if he were in France and forgets that in the United States one can belong to [either of] two parties without running the risk of being hung,

[2] Journal, October 30, 1793. Unless otherwise noted all quotations are from the Diary itself. Only for outstanding quotations are specific references given. For a contemporary English translation of an extract of the address to the Canadians, see herein p. 95.

[3] Journal, November 2, 1793. Hauterive does not indicate where this establishment was, though he does note an earlier inspection of a hospital on October 20. However, on July 22, 1793, the Common Council had "Ordered that M[r] Mayor be authorized to inform the french Consul *the* [that] if there should be any sick on Board the french Fleet expected here they can have the use of Bedlows Island." *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1784–1831*, II: 23.

[4] Journal, November 11, October 26, 1793.

or even of being disgraced." He feared that the newspaper war "will prove fatal to a man in office." He foresaw and feared the consequence of Genet's fall for the French cause but realized by the autumn that his fall was inevitable. "He was unwise enough to go down into the arena in person; the wild beasts will devour him."[5]

Like other contemporary Frenchmen Hauterive considered the Americans cold. After a gala American dinner which he compared to dining in Moldavia, he said cynically, "If these are the people who put through a revolution, exterior talent is not indispensable." And: "if God wants Liberty to win all the peoples of the earth, He has sown the first seeds on very damp ground." Then, more wistfully: "If I had come through a revolution as these people have and if I were at table with Frenchmen, I wouldn't have time to eat or drink, so much would I have to say about their affairs and ours."[6] But he is neither cynical nor wistful on the vexed problem of American neutrality, when he gives advice easier to formulate than to put into effect:

> If the Americans are neutral it is certainly difficult for them to preserve the peace and tranquillity of neutrality. The English menace and insult them; the French excite and disturb them; and the colonials[7] have chosen their country as the field for their harangues, their conspiracies and their debates. If it were permissible to stop being a Frenchman for one moment, this is how I would counsel them: Answer the English with pride, seize the forts they are holding from you, announce to their Minister that you are masters in your own country. Chase out the colonials, let not one of these agitators come to dishonor your territory by his offers, his complaints, his supplications. Announce to the French that you are neutral, that they may trade freely, live in peace, prosper in the shade of your laws, but that they may not negotiate; that neutrality is deaf to proposals of peace or war, that the revolutionary spirit should die out in the bosom of an established constitution; that they must respect your laws or get out from under them if they disapprove of them, by leaving a land which is not free enough for their tastes. Let the first one of them

[5] Journal, November 5, 1793.

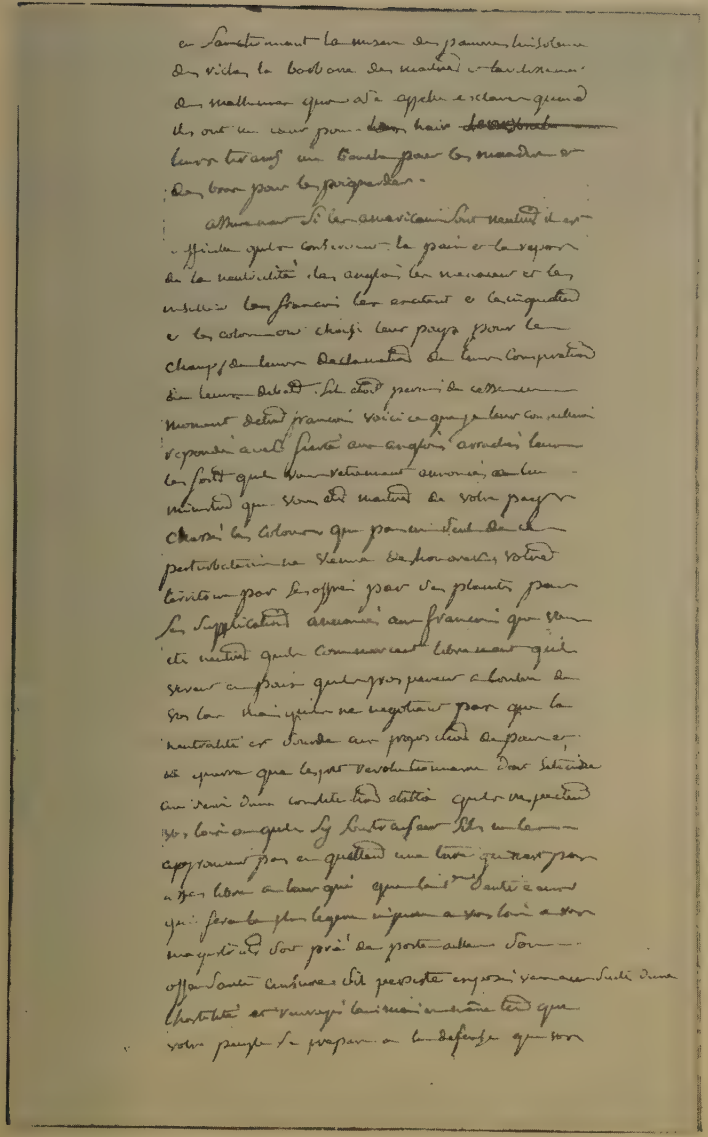
[6] Journal, October 24, 1793.

[7] *I.e.*, the refugees from Santo Domingo and the other French islands who carried on their quarrels about the revolution while in exile in the United States. See Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States 1790–1800*.

who is responsible for the slightest injury to your laws, to your magistrates, be asked to take his offensive condemnation elsewhere. If they persist, face the consequences of hostility and send them away. But at the same time as your people prepare themselves for defense, as your seas are covered with vessels, as your commerce goes armed for defense, attack no one, but be proud towards all. Say to your enemies: we do not fear you. Say to your friends: your scorn displeases us, but we will not cease being your friends. Say to all the earth: we are neutral, and be it veritably, and I swear to you that you will be, and that in this firm and generous attitude you will ride out the tempests of war, everywhere welcome, everywhere respected, and that you will hold yourselves as far above the circumstances of your position as you are now actually beneath them.[8]

In the day-by-day work of the consulate Hauterive's chief worry was the French fleet in New York Harbor. Santo Domingan refugees were a nuisance too. Both problems were the result of the French Revolution in the French West Indies, where on the eve of the Revolution, the basic question of the relation between the mother country and the colonial administration was already moot, and this situation was aggravated by problems of citizenship and civil rights in a society of white, colored, and mixed blood. With the progress of the Revolution conditions tended to go from bad to worse. Refugees consequently began to come individually or collectively to the United States. This exodus reached its peak in June 1793, after the burning of Cap François, a tragedy started by factional fighting between the mulatto soldiers of the Jacobin Civil Commissioners, Polverel and Sonthanax, and the white sailors from the fleet under General Galbaud. With the city in flames behind them, all who could do so—planters, business men, tradesmen, slaves, pro and con the Revolution—crowded into the ships in the harbor and set sail for the United States. Along with this convoy came a number of French naval vessels then in West Indian waters, diverted by this evacuation from immediate return to France. After the convoy reached the Chesapeake the naval vessels went on up the coast, stopped at Philadelphia, and sailed into New York Harbor on

[8] Journal, November 10, 1793. (Punctuation added)



A PAGE OF HAUTERIVE'S JOURNAL, NOVEMBER 10, 1793

In which he comments on American neutrality

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August 2d. It was a gala entry, a fifteen-gun salute from the French ships, an answering volley from the Battery, and Governor Clinton out to welcome the Admiral ashore.[9]

Here were ships for Genet's ambitious schemes—a scrap of a silver lining in a vast black cloud. True the disaffected personnel must be removed and replaced with good French republicans, both groups fed, the ships supplied and armed, but Genet was young and sanguine and the New York details were Hauterive's burden. "Means, resources and even frauds were exhausted in New York," by the autumn, so Hauterive sought personnel elsewhere. Duplaine, the consul in Boston, sent him five men, including "a baker" and "two others who had made several crossings as passengers."[10] Hauterive got eight sailors off a whaler in New York. "Little by little our armaments are being completed. We will have men, soldiers, fair frigates" but alas no one adequate to command them.

Hauterive noted specific ships in the fleet. One which figured prominently was the *Jupiter*, a man-of-war with 74 guns. On October 18th Citizen Letendre came with requests for 80 of the *Jupiter's* sailors. On October 26th two of the *Jupiter's* officers came in seeking the arms taken from them in Philadelphia, while en route up the coast—a pretext, according to Hauterive, "to see the face of the consul and sound out his character." It is not surprising to find these references, for, when the *Jupiter* arrived in New York Harbor with the fleet, there was insubordination aboard and Genet, wishing to restore uniform pro-revolutionary sentiment, came over to New York and held hearings aboard the ship. The minutes of these hearings, extant in the French archives, indicate a plan to transfer Captain Bompard from the *Embuscade* to the *Jupiter* and with him the *Embuscade's* personnel. The

[9] Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, Chronology, August 2, 1793.

[10] When Duplaine, the French consul in Boston, was removed from office in October, 1793, Hauterive drafted a letter of protest which Genet used. See Journal, October 30, November 1, 1793. The letter in question is extant in the French archives, Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Correspondance Politique, Etats-Unis, vol. 30, fol. 259.

Embuscade, the French ship which had brought Genet to the United States, had at this moment just returned victorious from her battle with the British ship *Boston* outside New York Harbor and was much in the limelight. Whether or not the *Embuscade's* crew was transferred, Genet on August 25th issued an elaborate proclamation, in fiery revolutionary verbiage, ordering the *Jupiter's* crew ashore, putting a guard on the vessel and charging anyone who disobeyed with treason.[11] According to Hauterive's Journal, Bompard was put in command of the fleet in New York Harbor.

The popular excitement over the battle between the *Boston* and the *Embuscade* indicated the degree of pro-French feeling among the American people in spite of the Government's neutral stand. Nine ships sailed out of New York Harbor to witness the fight. Hauterive wrote Genet in detail about it and a British traveler then in New York has left a record of Bompard's "triumphal entry the day after the engagement." "He was hailed by the gaping infatuated mob with admiration and received by a number of the higher order of Democrats with exultation. . . . He was a very small elderly man, but dressed like a first-rate beau and doubtless fancied himself upon this occasion six feet high." The *Embuscade's* colors were given to the Tammany Society "as an emblem of respect which those virtuous patriots merit . . . from their Republican Brethren of France." At the same time British sympathizers were calling on the Government to stop these pro-French celebrations or they would take matters into their own hands, fire the *Embuscade* and "bid defiance to the host of vile Republicans who infest this metropolis."[12]

Coming back to the *Jupiter:* The French agents were not the only ones to worry about this ship. In the minutes of the Health Committee set up in New York in the autumn of 1793 to guard the city against the yellow fever epidemic in Philadephia, we find

[11] Aff. Etr. Paris, Cor. Pol. E. U., vol. 38, folio 200, 362 ff.

[12] Stokes, *Iconography*, July 28, 30, 1793; Aff. Etr. Paris, Cor. Pol. E. U., vol. 38, fol. 166–167.

"VIEW OF NEW YORK FROM 'LE JUPITER' OF 74 GUNS LYING AT ANCHOR IN THE NORTH RIVER / AUGUST 20, 1793"

Hand-colored print, "Arch[a] Robertson, fecit," 1793

[Man-of-war in foreground may well be the *Jupiter's* sister ship the *Embuscade*, anchored with a French fleet in the harbor, August 2 to October 7, 1793. Trinity Church shows at left through the rigging, the Government House under the bowsprit, and the Battery at right. The so-called Churn (*c.* 1790–1809) carries a flag of 15 stripes, Kentucky having been admitted as the fifteenth State in 1792, though the flag shown did not become official till May 1, 1795. The rowboat under the flagstaff marks the approximate location of the later Castle Garden (Aquarium).] The legend above does not appear on the Society's print, which is signed in ink "A Robertson 1793," but is taken from a later state reproduced as frontispiece to Rodman Gilders' *The Battery*.

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that the vessel carrying the deserters from the *Jupiter* was anchored off Governor's Island. Alexander Furman and Dr. Treat were appointed to see that the men were properly quarantined and to communicate with the French Minister about this. These sailors had presumably jumped ship in Philadelphia, for the same minutes state on October 25th that the French sailors quarantined aboard a ship in the harbor should be allowed to land "provided

the Health Officer certified to the Chairman that they are all in good health, they having been fourteen days from Philadelphia."[13] New Yorkers of today will be interested to note that the Historical Society has an 18th-century print of New York Harbor, after a drawing from on board the *Jupiter* in the late summer of 1793.

At various times men from other ships turned up in the consulate; two men from *L'Astrée* came in for rations, officers from a commercial vessel came in to complain about their captain, and coastwise pilots sought assistance and a passage back to the islands. Emerian, the commandant of *Le Cerf*[14] also turned up repeatedly, scared green about the ill-equipped expedition he might have to take to New Providence or even to Florida. A ship that caused Hauterive much trouble was *La Perdrix* (the Partridge). The fact that she had returned to New York for a new mast when the old one had not been condemned made Hauterive very suspicious. The captain of *L'Astrée*, whom Hauterive suspected of being an "aristocrat," was always on shore when he should have been aboard and aboard when he should have been on shore. When Captain Bompart, who was to lead the mysterious expedition of conquest for which Genet was preparing, set sail for France in defiance of Genet's orders, Hauterive commented on it as "bad news for the Minister." "All the scaffolding of an elaborate project has collapsed like a house of cards: Canada, St. Pierre, Newfoundland, Acadia, have gone up in smoke." All this however had been predicted and by everybody except Genet, and Hauterive concluded that, since the ships were needed at home, "the fleet will be absolved" and Genet will pay the supply bills.[15] For Hauterive, if some of the ships are gone, *La Perdrix* remains: *La Perdrix est encore là.*

Santo Domingan refugees of one political complexion or an-

[13] Minutes of the New York Health Committee, Oct. 14 and 25, 1793.

[14] Aff. Etr. Paris, Cor. Pol. E. U., vol. 38, fol. 362 lists Emerian as *Commandant* of *Le Cerf;* fol. 145 describes *Le Cerf* as an *Aviso.*, that is, a message ship.

[15] Journal, November 2, 1793. Subsequent references imply that Bompart left in disgust when he discovered that the elaborate preparations were for the conquest of *St. Pierre* only.

other were a real problem. According to Hauterive the first stage of the French Revolution in the islands drove out the great planters, members of the old French aristocracy; subsequent developments then drove out the native aristocracy of smaller planters by catering to the poor whites and mulattos, who might, Hauterive thought, be driven out in their turn by the colored majority.[16] Hauterive's analysis here shows historical insight and perspective. He was also aware of the fact that the islands' Civil Commissioners, Polverel and Sonthanax, were dictators with everything playing into their hands and expected more French refugees as the English gained control in the islands. Whatever the causes of emigration, all sorts of refugees turned up at the Consulate: army officers loyal to France, if not to the radicals then in control, in need of subsistence; a pro-revolutionary Frenchman married to a mulatress and fleeing the aristocratic refugees in Charleston; a colored delegation whose dignity and refinement belied the charges about "colored brigands" made by the officers of the fleet. Then, as in the years since, this country appeared "to all the unfortunates as a universal asylum." Hauterive characterized the emigration "as a flood of impure lava" but recognized "bits of pure and brilliant metal" in it. He felt deeply, too, about the destitute women and children from Santo Domingo and in contradistinction to Genet did not feel that they should be punished for the faults of their fathers: "if it is certainly an atrocious crime to oppress one class of men, I do not see why it is not an atrocious crime to exterminate another."[17] For Hauterive, two wrongs did not make a right.

Hauterive's other major problem was his acute shortage of funds. The consulate's meager balance of $1,143.06 was noted on the first page of the Journal and before that Hauterive had written to Genet explaining in detail his own modest living conditions and his need for more money. "Prices in this country are out of all proportion."[18] Worried "by the enormity of our

[16] Journal, November 10, 1793.
[17] Journal, November 19, 1793.
[18] Aff. Etr. Paris, Cor. Pol. E. U., vol. 38, fol. 292.

expenses," Hauterive found that merchants were uncertain of their drafts and "requests for money pile up on my table," while Genet "spends with the ease, prodigality and lack of consideration of kings."[19]

At one time or another private citizens aided the French agents. Thiebault, to Hauterive's regret, resigned from handling the affairs of the *Normande* in October. Nicholson took over.[20] Thiebault was getting two and one half percent interest only and "honest men don't want a job which yields very little honest return for a great deal of trouble." Murray "as stubborn as a Quaker and as hard as a usurer"[21] and Vaughan[22] also helped at one time or another. Finally in mid-November when things were at a complete standstill for lack of funds Hauterive approached Daniel Ludlow,[23] an "aristocrat" who advanced him $10,000 which Hauterive felt would last until "the Congress delivers us from Mr. Hamilton's ill-will."[24] Subsequently Hau-

[19] Journal, November 9, 11, 13, 1793.

[20] Neither the biographical dictionaries nor the City Directories make clear who Thiebault was. Nicholson, however, was considered by Hauterive *très peu propre à ces fonctions.* Presumably this was Commodore James Nicholson, 91 William St., the only one in the City Directory. His daughter Hannah married Albert Gallatin in November 1793, see note 25 below. John Nicholson of Philadelphia also had business connections with the French refugees. See Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States. . . .*

[21] Journal, November 18, 1793. Though Hauterive does not mention Murray's first name, the reference to a Quaker leads to the inference that he refers to John Murray, who was born in Pennsylvania of Quaker stock but established a mercantile business in New York before the Revolution. He maintained a consistent Quaker position during the Revolution, and subsequently figured prominently in New York business and philanthropic activities and died in possession of much property on Murray Hill. See *D.A.B.* XIII: 359–360.

[22] Journal, November 18, 1793. Again Hauterive gives no first name but he may possibly be referring to Charles Vaughan of English birth who settled in New England in 1785, was connected with the "Kennebec Purchase" and active in the 1790's in business and social agencies in New England. See *D.A.B.* XIX: 234–235.

[23] Journal, November 19, 24, 30, 1793. Daniel Ludlow (1750–1814) was a member of a prominent family of New York merchants. Sent as a youth to a Dutch counting house, he learnt French, German, and Dutch as well as the banking business. He remained loyal to Great Britain in the Revolution. At the time in question he was in partnership with his nephew Gulian "under the firm name Daniel Ludlow and company." See *D.A.B.* XI: 490–491.

[24] Journal, November 19, 1793. Congress had been advancing funds to the French Legation against our debt incurred during the American Revolution. Hauterive evidently hoped for further advances which Hamilton, being a Federalist and anti-French, might well oppose.

terive became persuaded that Ludlow would handle the French affairs for the time being, making less than he hoped for and more than the French expected. In due course Ludlow wrote "a most disobligingly honest letter" demanding a monopoly and a five percent return—terms which indicate the poor financial position of the French Legation.

Aside from major topics, there are minor themes and incidental comment which are illuminating and interesting. Hauterive's insight into situations and human character was keen. Of one maligned Frenchman he said: "Bonne is no more a priest in disguise than I am. He is the quartermaster of a regiment who would like to find a regiment without a quartermaster here." Of a refugee: "Poor Lequoi arrived. I thought he was a ghost. . . . Friendship is a gift for which nature makes us pay dearly. We suffer in all who interest us." Of Cassan, one of Genet's aids whom Hauterive couldn't stand: "He will say good and evil, caress and bite, advance and withdraw . . . Cassan, whom God made cross-eyed to signify that he would always see things crookedly." Of the Gallatins: "I went to Galatin [*sic*] and his wife this evening. I had given him [*i. e.*, expected or preferred him to choose] another, namely his sister-in-law who is prettier and has had a better education. . . ."[25] "Galatin is a sensible man whom passionate men would consider proud. He is however neither hot nor cold. . . . He is severe in his judgments but he judges only what he feels and knows." Hauterive thought Genet's romance with Cornelia Clinton would fall through. "The question of the marriage is put off. I think Congress will decide it. Cornelia's fate is in Washington's hands and they are not friendly hands. Poor Cornelia." But Hauterive's sympathy was wasted; he did not know Cornelia. Governor Clinton's call on Hauterive on November 24th was, Hauterive regretted, only the fourth time they

[25] Journal, November 17, 1793. Albert Gallatin married Hannah, the daughter of James Nicholson in November 1793, so that Hauterive was calling on newlyweds. The sister-in-law here referred to is probably Mrs. William Few, wife of a Senator from Georgia, or possibly Miss Maria who married John Montgomery in 1809. The third sister Frances married Joshua Seney of Maryland in 1790.

had met and he hoped to see more of the Governor when Genet was gone: "He is so polite and his ladies are so thoughtful."

All through the Journal we see the philosophy of the revolutionary era and Hauterive's response to it. He was thoroughly anti-clerical ("the priesthood is an injury to the social order")—at times blasphemous; but he is by no means lacking in idealism. When worn out and discouraged by overwork and worry he looked forward to the next day when he would again "think of the pleasure of being useful, of the satisfaction of accomplishing difficult duties. . . ." Of himself he said, "Happily God freed me from boredom and gave me patience, resignation for the present and hope for the future. With this cargo one is eager to go full sail into the roadway of life, whatever wind, sea and fortune." In good back-to-nature fashion Hauterive idealized life on the land and looked forward to it as an end in his own life: "Happy equality of the fields! Primitive and final destiny of the man who desires neither to govern nor to obey, who wants to be neither master nor servant . . . who desires a state where all the faculties of his body, his soul and his spirit are revealed in harmony."[26]

Sensitive to the philosophy of the day, he could not resist the temptation to philosophize himself: for two and one half pages on an exchange of prisoners; for two pages, when a pet bird died, on survival after death (it is as dogmatic, he thought, to deny survival as to support it); on his own happy ménage, which he portrays with charm and delicacy; on his friend Olive's[27] good fortune in escaping from France with his family, his health, and adequate means ("It is Calypso's island amid the tempests of the Adriatic"). Finally on December 8th when the diary breaks off after an analysis of the Washington-Genet controversy, Hauterive goes off into a formal discussion of human nature, its diverse attributes, its ultimate destination.

After Genet's fall, in March 1794 Fauchet and the Commissioners who succeeded him turned Hauterive's work over to the

[26] Journal, October 26, November 11, 1793.
[27] Nicholas Olive of Saint-Malo, a merchant who settled in New York.

vice-consul Arcambal, but kept Hauterive to untangle and wind up the accounts of the fleet in New York, work he did *de bonne grâce*.[28] In indifferent health, Hauterive (certainly wisely and possibly intentionally) delayed his return to France. Consequently when Adet in his turn stepped into the French Minister's shoes, he was able to use Hauterive to maintain contacts with Congress for him.[29] By the end of 1797, after more than four years in the United States, Hauterive was back in France. The following year he became a divisional chief in the Department of Foreign Affairs under Talleyrand, whom he had first met years earlier at the Duc de Choiseul's château and whom he had doubtless gotten to know better during Talleyrand's two years of exile in the United States. From then on Hauterive figured with increasing prominence in the diplomatic history of the Napoleonic era. He drafted the Concordat of 1801, was one of the French agents in the Amiens negotiations, worked on the terms of the treaty of Tilsit, and when Talleyrand at times followed Napoleon's armies, Hauterive held his portfolio *par interim*. Ultimately he was put in charge of the French archives, a post he held for the rest of his active life.

While caught up in all these activities—in the fall of 1803, to be exact—Hauterive came upon his papers and Journal of ten years before and marvelled as he reread them that he could have written happily on ideas and events with the "terrible burden" he then had to carry. Fired by the pleasure he got rereading all this "rubbish" of no interest to anyone but himself, he started to write again. Reading on, we find the old Hauterive philosophizing again: on the two things necessary in life, *i. e.*, good health and pleasant companions; on life on the land; on inefficient personnel in the office. "I see that it is often here as it was in New York when I had everything to do, the consulate, the chancery, the admiralty. . . . Certainly I would rather spend an hour drawing up the most thorny note than upsetting a half a dozen cartons

[28] Aff. Etr. Paris, Cor. Pol. E. U., vol. 48, fol. 200 ff.; *American Historical Association Report*, 1903, Vol. II: *Correspondence of the French Ministers, 1791–1797*, Commissioners to the Minister of Foreign Relations, June 7, 1794.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 1013–14. Adet's instructions for Létombe.

to find a lost dispatch."[30] Towards the end is an analysis of the year eleven (1802–3): "What a year! . . . The mischief of the United States, Louisiana, the Swiss consul, . . . the King of Sardinia, Clarkson. . . ." A page or two more of philosophical comment, then: "*Voilà le dernier mot de l'an onze, voilà le premier mot de l'an douze.*" Here the journal closes and with it our description of its contents. Though the journal ends on a sad note (Hauterive was thinking of resigning), he remained in charge of the French archives. He died in Paris in 1830, in the midst of the July Revolution, reconciled to the church he had repudiated and mercifully ignorant of the cause of the noise outside his windows.

Leaving description for evaluation of the Journal, certain things must be noted. As with many diaries, this one both corrects and humanizes the official picture. Hauterive has been labeled as anti-revolutionary.[31] Nothing in the journal so characterizes him. In fact in his political and philosophical thinking he seems to follow fairly closely the general pattern of the revolutionary era. But if he is sympathetic to the Revolution, his sympathy does not destroy his sense of proportion or his appreciation of fundamental values. His fear of excess is evident in his criticism

[30] Nevertheless, Hauterive in later years looked back with reminiscent pleasure to his sojourn in New York and with affection to the young Republic beyond the Atlantic. On July 3, 1809, he wrote to Albert Gallatin, in a letter among the Gallatin Papers at The New-York Historical Society, about a visit just paid to him by Gallatin's friend Daniel Gelston, one-time Collector of the Port of New York:

"We talked a lot about America. It was so long since I had had such a good opportunity to talk about it unhurriedly. In all that Mr. Gelston told me, I saw that the same divergence of opinions and views existed in that country, which had, in my time, prevented the government giving its measures the unity, consistency and vigor which alone could make them efficacious and salutary; but that if those who know the true interests of their country, the obstacles to its prosperity, the dangers which threaten to arrest its development, and the only true means of preventing those dangers, are not the majority, they nevertheless include the most enlightened citizens, the most influential as regards positions, the most admirable for their character, their services and their talents. And finally (I saw) that not one of the men whom I am honored to have had for friends has deserted the cause I saw them defend ten years ago. Mr. Gelston will also tell you that I have not changed, in opinion, in viewpoint, or in hopes for all that relates to the happiness of a country where I received so many evidences of good-will and affection."

(I am indebted to Mr. Wayne Andrews, Curator of Manuscripts at the Society, for having brought this letter to my attention.—F.S.C.)

[31] Michaud, *Biographie Universelle,* XVIII: 557–71.

of Genet, his decency in his sympathy for the destitute refugees whatever their politics. It may well be this sense of balance which made it possible for Hauterive to serve under successive French governments and yet emerge at the end as essentially a servant of France rather than of any momentary regime. Moreover the maturity of some of Hauterive's analyses, for example his comments on American neutrality and on the course of the revolution in the West Indies noted above, are as capable as one can find in the French diplomatic correspondence on the subjects and presage the future diplomat and statesman.

For Americans in general and New Yorkers in particular Hauterive's Journal has not the richness of detail on American society evident in other contemporary accounts such as those of the refugees Moreau de St Méry and La Rochefoucauld Liancourt,[32] but if such local detail here gives place to consular worries, no intelligent reader can fail to enjoy the fluent, vivid style, the tart sarcasm, the humorous pen portraits with which Hauterive illuminates his account of day-by-day problems or of more serious issues. Students of the period will find the Journal has real significance in relation to the vexed problem of Franco-American relations, and indicates a somewhat more balanced opinion about them than that generally expressed by contemporary French agents. Finally, the Journal will lead the thoughtful reader beyond the topics discussed to a deeper appreciation of the position of the United States, and the difficulty if not impossibility of isolation even then. For if in one sense the United States was only a remote frontier area, it was also, at that early date, in a larger sense already an important member of the Western European World.

[32] La Rochefoucauld Liancourt's Diary which came to light some years ago was printed in France in 1940, but the distribution here was delayed by the war.

Editor's Note: Related manuscript material at The New-York Historical Society includes two interesting letters to Albert Gallatin, dated New York, April 12 and 18 respectively, 1794, in which Hauterive reveals his fear that the deposed agents of the French Republic, himself and Genet included, may be forcibly repatriated to suffer the vengeance of the Terror, and his determination, unless given sanctuary in this the very mother country of liberty, to go live with the savages. He asks Gallatin to use his influence and personal contacts in high places to discover the identity of Genet's informant in these matters and to what extent the administration may be expected to resist or foster demands for their extradition. A letter of April 14, 1794, James Nicholson to Gallatin, throws further light on this situation and Hauterive's state of mind.

THREE PAPERS PERTAINING TO THE GENET AFFAIR

by Roger L. Williams *

EDMOND CHARLES GENET
(1765–1834)
Engraving at The New-York Historical Society

IN OUR OWN time, we have become particularly aware of the situation which arises when an individual, or a group, passionately imbued with idealistic political principles, seeks to overcome the constituted authority and supplant it with a new utopian design. Fortified with the infallibility of the New Order, these zealots often take the attitude that the end justifies the means, thereby sowing the seeds of a disastrous harvest. One of these men was Edmond Charles Edouard Genet, who lived from 1765 to 1834. He was a French diplomat, serving in Berlin and Vienna, and from 1787 to 1792 he was ambassador to Russia. In 1793, with the Gironde in power, Citizen Genet came to Philadelphia to serve as Minister of the First French Republic.

It will be recalled that France was then involved in the Wars of the French Revolution, and President Washington, unwilling to become an ally of France against England, had declared the United States to be a neutral. Genet landed in South Carolina and proceeded to Philadelphia overland. On his trip northward, he was thrilled to meet with great popular acclaim and demonstrations of republican spirit, and thus he was encouraged to raise

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troops to be used against Spanish-held Florida and to commission privateers to prey on British shipping. The Treaty of 1778, between France and America, had permitted the outfitting of such privateers in American ports, as well as allowing captured ships to be brought in and their cargos sold, duty free. By invoking the terms of the treaty, Genet hoped to circumvent American neutrality.

Washington and Hamilton were unmoved by the popular spirit, maintaining the neutrality, but Genet chose to accept the popular demonstrations as his mandate for promoting the equipping of privateers in American ports even though officially denied the use of American ports as bases of operation. This attack on Washington's authority and Genet's threat to appeal directly to the masses forced the government of the United States to insist that the French government recall Genet. That government agreed to do so, but since the Mountain was by then in power in Paris, returning to France for Genet meant exposing his neck to the busy steel of Madam Guillotine. Therefore, Washington made it possible for Genet to remain in the United States, and the retired revolutionary settled down to married life with the daughter of Governor George Clinton of New York.

Three papers pertaining to this situation are included in the Melville Papers of the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan. Viscount Melville was British Secretary of State for War, 1782–1783 and 1784–1800, as well as Home Secretary from 1791 to 1794. The editor has reproduced them exactly as they appear in the Melville Papers.

[I]

Translation

Consulship
of New York New York 14th. June 1793.
Second Year of Republic

Diplomatick.

THE CONSUL AT NEW YORK[1] TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.[2]

Citizen; Since my arrival from Philadelphia my occupations have been so exceedingly multiplied, that my time wholly absorbed in active duties, and in a constant & indispensable Communication with Citizen Genet, has not permitted one to correspond with You; it is only this day that I find myself equal to the fulfilling my daily duties, and I avail myself of this moment of release to acquaint You in a succinct manner, of the particular situation in which I am, and of the general one of the French Functionair'es in America.

Shortly after my departure from Philadelphia, a very little time after the remarkable reception, the Gall-Americans evinced to Citizen Genet, and at the very moment when the English were sounding American Tolerance & French Moderation, as to the extent of insolence that they might evince towards us with impunity, My friends pitied me in being obliged to exercise my duties in a Town, to which on account of a very old influence, and the recent one of the Aristocrates of the Three Nations, some people had given the Name of *Tory Town*. My Situation appeared to become more embarrassing since the arrival of the frigate, which having been chaced by an Enemy's Ship of the

[1] Hauterive, Alexandre Maurice Blanc de Lanautte, Count of; Consul at New York from May 6, 1793, until March 1794. On the 7th of June the Commissioners who had been sent from France to replace Genet wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that "Le Citoyen Hauterive a été remplacé par Arcambal," who was given the title Vice Consul, but that "Hauterive a été nécessaire au Consulat quelque tems encore après sa destitution pour arrêter une compatabilité que la ralâche de l'Escadre de St. Domingue et les accidens qu'elle a entraînés avait rendue très compliquée. Il s'y est prêté de bonne grace & il n'a terminé que fort tard. Il parait que les travaux de sa gestion ont altéré sa santé et qu'il ne peut partir sur le champ pour France." Three years later French Ambassador Adet wrote that he had found Hauterive useful as an "Agent intermédiaire" and recommended him to the Consul General as one whose zeal he could count on in his negotiations with members of Congress. And on June 27, 1797, the Consul General wrote home that Hauterive, "toujours valétudinaire, est venu passer ici deux jours; Il partira pour Paris dans quinze environ." (American Hist. Assoc. *Annual Report* 1903, II: 384, 1014, 1040)

[2] Lebrun, Pierre-Henri-Hélène-Marie Tondu, 1763–1793; Girondist Minister of Foreign Affairs in August 1792, and Minister of War in October 1792. Removed from office by the Mountain on July 21, 1793, and arrested and guillotined as a counter-revolutionary, December 27, 1793.

Line, arrived here on the 10th of this month, and was the occasion for cowards and illwishers to the Country, to presage, said they, Scenes more turbulent than those which had taken place at Philadelphia.[3]—Well, Citizen, I have the pleasure to tell You, that this is the fifth day since the arrival of the Ambuscade, and our Sailors have not given the slightest cause of uneasiness to the Citizens of this place.—True it is, that on the first insult given by our mutual Enemy, the American Pride displayed itself nobly in our Favour.[4]—The Magistrates, who besides, have a more open and truer propensity to fulfill in our respect, the Duties of Fraternity, than those at Philadelphia, have even been informed through the Channel of the general Voice, of the necessity of repelling the English Insolence, & I have every reason to believe that the french at New York will not stand in need of having recourse to the Rights of Man, to repel Force by Force.[5] But Hatred is not an indolent passion; the Coalition of all the Aristocracies, that this first check has just rallied,[6] I doubt not, will bring on, by the irritation of an haughtiness, which no reverse of fortune can cure, Measures which will in the end, engage this

[3] For several days before the departure of the *Embuscade* from Philadelphia, French seamen, armed with cutlasses, had roamed the streets, wounding and abusing British seamen, while holding others aboard the frigate.

[4] Violation of the neutrality of American shipping by the British caused public indignation as well as the enlistment of some Americans in the forces of France.

[5] The French representatives continually claimed that America owed France a debt of gratitude for the alliance of 1778, but that treaty of alliance had stated that "There shall be no after claim of compensation on one side or the other, whatever may be the event of the war." Therefore, a proclamation of neutrality was considered legal and sensible, if not particularly honorable, and this was accomplished on April 23, 1793. Local courts then authorized the seizure of privateers and prizes, but the French officials refused to recognize the jurisdiction of these local courts and determined to resist it. The French claimed that the French government had given the jurisdiction of prizes to the consular authorities, that a French prize in a neutral port was just as much outside the jurisdiction of local authorities as if it were anchored in a French port, and that any deviation from this by the Federal Government would be interpreted as an attempt to modify or cancel the alliance between the two nations. The controversy inflamed the water-fronts, and the outbursts of Republicanism and pro-French demonstrations astonished the Federalists, forcing immediate official apologies.

[6] The American, English, and French aristocracies residing in New York were considered to be checked in their attempt to impose the Neutrality Proclamation by the opposition of the people. (See footnote 5)

Country in an open Contest, and a fatal one for them;[7] It is now to be ascertained, whether New York be an English or an American City; If She shall become a haven for the most decided Enemies to Liberty, or if she will serve as an hospitable reception for it's best friends. Whatever one may think of the force of the ruling opinion, I firmly believe, that the Contest will not long remain undecided. The Number of the Friends to France, that is to say, the true Americans, increases every Day; Prejudices for a long time instilled, and kept up by a thousand infamous lies are wearing away, of themselves. New York will soon acquire another Reputation; In short, the Anglo Colonial Aristocracy will soon be compelled to seek another Asylum.—This, Citizen, is my present position; it is in the midst of an approaching crisis, that I write to You in order to forewarn You of an happy issue; I venture even to think that it will have a national influence which will extend itself over the whole American Continent; It does not appear to me possible, that the maxim lately declared by the federal government of giving an arbitrary interpretation to political Laws, at the will of an easy president, and of some venal Minister, should not immediately convince every independent man of this Country, of the Alteration in the principles of the Constitution;[8] an hundred addresses of Congratulation, Each one the Echo of the Other, supported by the manful reclamations of every American Whig, are about to make the President's proclamation, a Subject of National Complaint, the period of which cannot be otherwise or with more prudence, be accelerated, than at the epoch of the meeting of congress, which will at last decide upon the true interpretation which ought to be given to a State of Neutrality.—It is then, that the Americans will know to what they are bound, when Impartiality is prescribed to them, and whether this Word, which like all the hypocritical terms,

[7] The Consul anticipates civil strife in America should the Federalist sentiment continue to contradict popular feelings.

[8] He refers to Washington's and Hamilton's decision to declare the state of neutrality despite the existing treaty with France and despite the popular pro-French demonstrations.

which the moderantism in France, had wished to carry into fashion,[9] signifies that the free men of America ought to remain in suspense between their oppressors and their Friends, between Tyrants, and the Defenders of the Rights of Man; between the Prussians, the Hessians, the English Etc. and the French.—an astonishing and scandalous Question, at which every generous Man revolts, and which, at least, serves to prove to what a degree of danger, a People confiding in the Virtue of their Rulers, expose themselves, when they do not indefatigably watch over the conduct of those who govern them, and what a signal Service the French Revolution renders to every free Nation, by inspiring them with that persevering vigilance, which can alone insure the continuance of their Independency.

I do not, Citizen, speak to You of the part which the French will perform in the Drama which is preparing in America; It will be varied, according to the Nature of Events.—Attentive Spectators of the political Disputes of a Nation, that stands in need of nobody but herself, to support her Rights, they will nevertheless, not neglect to lend their assistance of their individual opinions in discussions of so much importance to them; they will adopt Prudence for a guide, which is an important obligation in the duties they discharge; But if Foreign Influence should mix into the internal Divisions, and give an offensive turn to domestick Debates; if, in short, the ancient Tyrants of America, try a second time, to renew the chains She has broken; Then, there is not a frenchman, who does not consider himself in his own Country, and the Functionaries will be the first Persons to resign an Employment, become useless, to play the Soldier's part.

I leave to Citizen Genet the task of informing You with the detail of the Consulary Operations, the central thread of which, the last decrees have placed in his hands. None of us, here, is tempted to depart from a System which places the point of dependance nearer to him.—What does it import to Men, who

[9] Here he styles a state of neutrality as being hypocritical and likens the Washington administration to the Constitutional Monarchy of France, which preceded the Gironde, both governments being anti-democratic in Hauterive's estimation.

regard only the Law, who seek and revere it, from what point & from what distance, these orders arrive. The nearer they are to it, the oftener they have opportunities of evincing their respect and their obedience.

(signed) HAUTERIVE

[*Endorsed:*] Translation of a Letter from Hauterive Consul at New York to the Minister for foreign Affairs—New York, 14th. June 1793. (Found in De Breuil's Papers)[10] His own situation—Situation of the French in America—

[II]

Translation

THE CONSUL AT NEW YORK TO THE MINISTER OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AT PHILADELPHIA.[11]

New York 2d August 1793.

Yesterday in an Assembly of the People held in an open Field —It was proposed to present an Address to Citizen Genet on his arrival at New York. Several Persons opposed this motion—The Chairman himself objected to it, & said that Citizen Genet had attempted to deceive the President of the United States. But unanimous *Huzzas* expressed the satisfaction of the People when the proposed Address was read—The Question was carried, & the Address will be presented to You.

If the Ambuscade returns triumphant, & if our Fleet comes here, I think you may after this come to New York.[12] It even

[10] Possibly Joseph Dubreuil (1747–1824), a noted legal expert and a functionary who survived the many changes in administration after 1789.

[11] Hauterive to Genet.

[12] At the end of July, the *Embuscade* sailed out beyond Sandy Hook to meet the British *Boston* which had come down from Halifax under Captain Courtney for the expressed purpose of challenging Captain Bompard of the *Embuscade*. The engagement took place in the first week of August, and the larger *Embuscade*, though damaged badly, forced the *Boston* to flee after Captain Courtney had been killed. The *Embuscade* returned in triumph to New York, preceded by the small French

appears to me that invested as you are with a great popularity, your influence upon the minds of the People, divided as they now are, will have a great effect. Appear then among us in this moment of zeal, crown our victorious Brothers of the *Ambuscade*, & satisfy the wishes of the good *Whigs* of New York.

(A true Copy) Signed, GENET

N. B. (by Mr Genet) New York is the Town of the United States, in which Aristocracy & what is here called the *British Influence* most prevails—Judge from this of the Places in which *Tories* & *Anglomanes* are in horror.

[*Endorsed:*] Translation of a Letter from the Consul at New York to Citizen Genet. 2[d] Aug[t]. 1793. in Citizen Genets of the 3[d] Aug[t].

[III]

Translation of an Inclosure in
L[t]. Gov[r]. Wentworth's Letters, of the
7[th]. Dec[r]. 1793.[13]

Extract of a Proclamation & Invitation of Messieurs Genet & Sarcey[14] sent from New York to the Inhabitants of Canada.[15]

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squadron which had just arrived from the Chesapeake. The exact size of the squadron is uncertain, but an unknown British correspondent, reporting from Philadelphia August 11, 1793, claimed that it consisted of two ships-of-the-line and four or five frigates.

[13] Sir John Wentworth (1737–1820). Lt. Governor of Nova Scotia from 1792 to 1808, serving under Lord Dorchester (formerly Sir Guy Carleton).

[14] Sarcey—identity obscure.

[15] Genet's instructions, issued by the Girondist government, were of a positive nature. They included an order to tempt the United States into the war by offering the annexation of Canada and Nova Scotia to the United States after a joint expedition to drive the English out of those regions. The Girondist government fell on July 2, 1793, and though the new government hated the Girondists and all their works, Deforgues, the new foreign minister for the Commune did not recall Genet or countermand his instructions. He did express doubt as to the probable success of Genet's methods, and Genet, understanding the situation as far as his welfare and life were concerned, apparently felt that his only salvation lay in making his plans work, and therefore he continued to operate as he had under the Gironde.

To wit—

Brethren & Fellow Citizens, we have groaned under the Yoke of Tyranny, and we have got rid of our Tyrant. Follow our Example. Our Brethren the Americans opened the Road to us; We have followed their example—The Road is marked out to you, it is for you now Citizens to head in the steps of your Fathers;—Remember that you were & that you still are Frenchmen. Nothing can redound more to your Glory than to follow their Example, and free yourselves Brethren & Citizens, from the Yoke of George, who thinks to frighten us with his little Army. Throw off the Chains of a Tyrannic Government—your Brethren are ready to receive you to their bosoms—Manifest to us your Sentiments, & you shall be assisted by us; and you shall enjoy the happiness of a Constitution which acknowledges but Liberty & Equality.

[*Endorsed:*] Translation—of Extract from Mess^{rs}. Genets & Sarceys proclamation inclosed in L^{t}. Gov^{r}. Wentworthes to M^{r}. King[10] of the 7th. Dec^{r}. 93.

[10] Probably Rufus King (1755–1827). A strong Federalist, senator from New York, associate of John Jay, who shared Jay's aristocatic nature. He was bitterly opposed to Genet and went so far as to urge Washington to send Genet back to the Guillotine.

BEEKMAN MANSION, EAST 51ST STREET, 1850

Watercolor, 3¾" x 4⅞", by C. M. Jencks
In Francis' *Old New York* extra-illustrated by Goelet

Gift of Mr. Lucius Wilmerding, 1949

UNKNOWN VIEWS OF OLD NEW YORK

by R. W. G. Vail

WE HAVE recently received as the generous gift of Mr. Lucius Wilmerding of our Board of Trustees, the Ogden Goelet extra-illustrated copy of Dr. John W. Francis: *Old New York*, originally published in 1865 in one volume and extended to thirteen volumes in 1895 by the insertion of between two and three thousand original manuscripts, broadsides, watercolors, wash and pen drawings, engraved portraits and views which illustrate nearly every person or place mentioned in this fascinating volume. This is undoubtedly one of the most elaborately extra-illustrated works on New York City ever assembled. Though it contains many rare and important illustrations, most of them are already well known through publication in Stokes and other illustrated books on our city. A few, however, seem to be hitherto unknown and we therefore plan to publish a series of them in the *Quarterly* so that our readers may enjoy them with us. The first of the series is the previously undescribed view of the city reproduced in the present issue. Another original watercolor from this series, but not included in the following article, is the excellent view of the old Beekman mansion on 51st Street by C. M. Jenckes, reproduced on the opposite page.

I

N. Amsterdam ou N. Iork in Ameriq~.

The so-called Restitutio View of New Amsterdam was drawn to celebrate the recapture of the city by the Dutch on August 24, 1673, and was first published as part of a map of New Netherland probably issued the following year by the Amsterdam engraver and publisher, Carolus Allardt or Allard.[1] It was the last engraved view of New Amsterdam made during the Dutch

[1] Stokes, *Iconography*, I:153, 221

PIETER MORTIER'S "N. AMSTERDAM OU N. IORK IN AMERIQ—." *c.* 1700

Above:

(*a*) The original drawing in pencil, pen, and wash, signed Pieter (?) Mortier, in the Ogden Goelet extra-illustrated volumes of Francis' *Old New York*. Gift of Mr. Lucius Wilmerding, 1949. Here reproduced for the first time.

(*b*) Its prototype: the Restitutio View of New Amsterdam, *c.* 1673, taken from a copy of the Matthew Seutter map of New Amsterdam, *c.* 1740, at The New-York Historical Society.

Opposite page:

(*a*) The Mortier drawing photographically reversed for comparison with the copperplate.

(*b*) The copperplate of Mortier's view of New Amsterdam as reproduced in Andrews' *New Amsterdam, New Orange, New York*, from the original in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

N: AMSTERDAM, ou N IORK
en Amerq

regime and was frequently copied in the similar maps of contemporary and later Dutch publishers including that published by Matthew Seutter about 1740, reproduced with this article.[2]

About 1700 the Dutch publisher P. Mortier issued a series of views of cities, twelve of which were in the Western Hemisphere but only one in North America and it is with this interesting view that we are concerned. It is a copperplate measuring 24.4 x 18.4 cm. and reproducing part of the Restitutio View of New Amsterdam of 1673 but with a native woman and man in the left foreground and another woman climbing up to them from the shore.[3] Stokes was able to locate but two copies of this print, one in the University Library in Amsterdam and one in the Huntington Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. However, the latter copy could not be found when Stokes published his first volume in 1915 and so he was forced to copy the photogravure of it in William Loring Andrews' *New Amsterdam, New Orange, New York*, 1897, p. 53, which we have also copied for this article. Stokes comments on this engraving as follows:

> Without doubt, this view is based upon the Restitutio View, from which it differs but slightly. The weigh-house . . . is erroneously placed, on the south instead of the north side of the 'Bridge,' and one roundout or pier is missing, probably errors in copying.

We now come to the original drawing from the Goelet-Wilmerding collection from which the above engraving was doubtless made. It is a pencil, pen, and wash drawing measuring 23.9 x 18.2 cm., has the same title as the engraved view, and the partially obliterated signature of the artist in the lower left margin seems to be *Pieter Mortier*, whose signature on the engraving appears as: *P. Mortier, cum Privil:.*

In making the drawing, the artist probably used a camera obscura in order to reverse the image as would be necessary in making a copperplate. He first lightly traced in a reversed red-pencil sketch of the Restitutio View, including all three of the

[2] Stokes, I:223
[3] Stokes, I:218–219

rounded piers, though only two of them were finally engraved.[4] The artist moved the weigh-house slightly to the left so that it would not be hidden by the Indian's bow. He then added with a pen the shipping in the river, the lefthand pier, figures on the shore, the stockade, and trees in the background. To this he added, in sepia wash, the large figures of the Indians on the Brooklyn shore, the sky, birds, rocks, shore line, and palm tree in the foreground. Finally, he transferred the finished, reversed drawing to the surface of the prepared copper plate, added the necessary shading to restore the view to its original appearance, etched in the plate and was ready to run off the finished prints. In the drawing, the cloud around the head of the male figure is a stain and not a part of the drawing itself. In our illustrations we show the 1740 reproduction of the Restitutio View, from the original 1674 edition of which our drawing was presumably copied, the drawing itself, the same photographically reversed, and the reproduction of the finished print.

This, then, is one of the first half-dozen original drawings of New Amsterdam known to have survived and is based on the eleventh known view in any medium. It was unknown to Stokes for, during the period when his great work was in preparation, the Goelet library containing this drawing was in storage and entirely inaccessible. It is not only interesting as one of the earliest views of New York but also as an example of the various steps by which the energetic Dutch engravers produced the prints with which they flooded the market during the 17th and early 18th centuries.

[4] Of course Stokes had not seen this original drawing for if he had, he would have seen that all three piers were present and so would not have continued the above note as follows:

"It is possible that the original view from which this plate was engraved antedates that reproduced on the Restitutio Map, in which case the date of the building of the third roundout, appearing on the Restitutio View between the two here shown, would be fixed between 1670, when Lovelace's tavern, which is also here shown, was built, and 1673, the date depicted by the Restitutio View."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Quarter of a Millennium: Trinity Church in the City of New York, 1697–1947. Edited by E. Clowes Chorley. Foreword by Frederic S. Fleming, Rector. Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 2205 Spruce Street. 1947. xi — 162 pages. 40 plates. biblio., index. $3.00.

Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, the distinguished and venerable "Historiographer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A., and Diocese of New York," has added to his authorship of Episcopal Church histories a veritable mine of historic information in the latest volume of his editorship: *Quarter of a Millennium: Trinity Church in the City of New York, 1697–1947.*

Dr. Chorley's scholarly hundred-page résumé of the 250 years of history of the Parish of Trinity Church is a "must" for the reference shelves of sectarian historians in general and New York City and State local historians and genealogists, in particular.

He pays his respects to the pioneering Dutch whose first minister of the Reformed Church of Holland arrived on Manhattan in August 1628. "The British government had never recognized the Dutch occupation of the New Netherlands," says Dr. Chorley. "Hence, when Charles II ascended the throne, he gave his brother, James, duke of York, 'the whole care and management of north American affairs.' England was already in possession of Virginia, New England, and Maryland; and New Amsterdam was necessary to unite the northern and southern provinces under British rule. To accomplish this end James sent out four commissioners, headed by Colonel Richard Nicolls, who later became the first English governor of New York.

"On August 29, 1664, a British fleet, consisting of four armed frigates, arrived in the harbor, and Nicolls summoned the Dutch to surrender. Stuyvesant demurred, but was in no military condition to resist, and on September 7, 1664, formally surrendered, and the British flag floated over Fort James. New Amsterdam became New York, and, save for a very short period, so remained until the War of the Revolution.

"Romanist though he was, the duke of York adopted a policy of broad religious toleration. The commissioners were charged not to force the Church of England on the Dutch, but they were also required to see that 'such who desire to use ye Book of Common Prayer may be permitted soe to do, without incurring any penalty, reproach, or disadvantage in his interest.' On the other hand, full religious liberty was to be granted to the Dutch, including the continued use of the church in the Fort. Thus was the way paved for the establishment of the Church of England and, ultimately, of Trinity Parish."

"On the sixth day of May, 1697, William III, King of England, granted a royal charter to Trinity Church in the City of New York. It was duly signed by 'our trusty and well beloved Benjamin Fletcher, our Captaine Generall and Governour in Chiefe of our Province of New York, and the territoryes and tracts of land depending thereon in America and Vice-Admirall of the same our Lieutennant and Commander in Chiefe of the Militia and of all forces by sea and land within our Collony of Connecticut and of all the forts and places of strength within the same.' Under that charter," explains Dr. Chorley, "Trinity Parish still functions, and is observing the 250th anniversary of its granting."

Judge William Smith of New York (1728–1793) describes Trinity Church in his *History of the Province of New-York*, London, 1757, dedicated to the Earl of Hallifax, New-York, 15 June, 1756 (Pp. 189–191): "Trinity was built in 1696, and afterwards enlarged in 1737. It stands very pleasantly upon the Banks of *Hudson's* River, and has a large Cemetery, on each Side, inclosed in the Front by a painted paled Fence. Before it a long Walk is railed off from the Broad-way, the pleasantest Street of any in the whole Town. This Building is about 148 Feet long, including the Tower and Chancel, and 72 Feet in Breadth. The Steeple is 175 Feet in Height. . . . The Church is, within, ornamented beyond any other Place of public Worship amongst us. The Head of the Chancel is adorned with an Altar-piece, and opposite to it, at the other End of the Building, is the Organ. The Tops of the Pillars, which support the Galleries, are decked with the gilt Busts of Angels winged. From the Ceiling are suspended two Glass Branches, and on the Walls hang the Arms of some of its principal Benefactors. The Allies are paved with stones. . . . The Revenue of this Church is restricted, by an Act of Assembly, to *500 l. per Annum;* but it is possessed of a real Estate, at the North End of the Town, which having been lately divided into Lots and let to Farm, will, in a few Years, produce a much greater Income."

Dr. Chorley says "the church stood until the fateful September night in 1776 when the great fire swept the lower part of the city. Trinity Church, the rector's house and the charity school, together with two hundred houses standing on the church grounds, were completely destroyed. St. Paul's Chapel and King's College, though in the path of the fire, were saved. The loss was estimated at twenty-two thousand pounds. The outer walls of the church remained standing until the vestry was compelled, in the interests of safety, to have them taken down. For the next thirteen years the congregation worshipped in St. Paul's Chapel.

"In 1785 the first steps were taken to build a new church. Commissioners were appointed to superintend the work. The rebuilding of what proved to be 'a much finer,' as well as a larger building, was completed in 1790. The cornerstone was laid by Bishop Samuel Provoost. . . . The new church was 104 feet long and 72 wide, and the steeple 200 feet in

height. Pews were set apart for the president of the United States, the governor of the state of New York and members of Congress. It was ordered that the president's pew be 'properly ornamented' and should 'have a canopy over it.' The remainder of the pews were sold at public auction. The new church was consecrated March 25, 1790, by Bishop Provoost. . . .

"In the year 1839 some concern was felt about the stability of the church erected in 1790. It was found that the roof was sinking through the weight of snow and the side walls were expanding. Repairs were inevitable and the committee was empowered to employ a draughtsman, which they did in the person of Mr. Richard Upjohn, then of Boston. Further investigation proved that the walls were insecure, and that the tower was supported only by two oak beams, twenty inches square, which were almost entirely decayed. The cost of repairs was estimated at thirty thousand dollars, and the vestry came to the conclusion that a new church must be built. . . . The old church was taken down and the cornerstone of the new was laid on Thursday, June 2, 1841."

The rectors of Trinity Parish through the *Quarter of a Millennium* include, chronologically, the following Reverend Doctors: William Vesey, Henry Barclay, Samuel Auchmuty, Charles Inglis, Samuel Provoost, Benjamin Moore, John Henry Hobart, William Perrian, Morgan Dix, William Thomas Manning, Caleb R. Stetson, and Frederic Sydney Fleming. Dr. Chorley has given us a succinct yet adequate account of each of these leaders with an introductory chronicle of the life of The Right Reverend Henry Compton, D.D. (1632–1713), 92d Bishop of London who was designated the first rector of the Parish by King William III in the Parish Charter of 1697. He appears to have served *in absentia.*

The second part, or *Book Two*, contains interesting accounts of *The Music of Old Trinity* by Edward N. West, Canon Sacrist, The Cathedral of St. John the Divine, *Trinity School and Trinity Parish* by Lawrence Thomas Cole, Rector of the School for thirty-four years, and *Trinity Church and Bishop Compton*, the Ascension Day Sermon as delivered in Trinity Church, New York City, May 15, 1947, during the celebration of the 250th Anniversary by the Right Reverend and Right Honorable John William Charles Wand, Lord Bishop of London.

A foreword by The Reverend Frederic Sydney Fleming, twelfth Rector of Trinity—in the span of 250 years—graces the volume and bespeaks for the Parish a continuance of its service to other Episcopal churches: "Before the beginning of the present century, Trinity Church had been privileged to assist in the establishment of approximately one hundred and ten churches in New York State alone—excluding Long Island and New York City; and not counting various Church institutions. The present century has seen the Parish of Trinity Church privi-

leged to continue this role of benefactor. In this Anniversary Year, it is the prayer of those who have the guardianship of Trinity's trust and obligation that this work may forever progress and expand; and that Trinity may be enabled to share its resources with those who may need them."

New York University LeRoy E. Kimball

Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America 1607–1776. By Abbot Emerson Smith. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press [for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va.], 1947. viii + 435 pages, including 129 pages of appendix, notes, biblio., and index. $5.00.)

The unspoiled wilderness which greeted our founding fathers provided something less than a fresh start for most of them. For the freedom implicit in thousands of square miles of unoccupied land, in the absence of cities, towns, and comprehensive government, was from the beginning conditioned by the European environment from which the colonists made their departure. Among these inheritances was a caste system not fully emerged from its medieval origins. True, the Colonial hierarchy which arose bore less and less resemblance to its Old World models; but the principle that all men are equal before law and in society was scarcely more than a pious hope in the New York as well as in the London of the 17th century.

Thus, the precedents for a system of indentured labor were familiar to the thousands of colonists who started their American lives under it. In describing that system, its origins, its mechanisms, and results, Abbot Smith has turned the spotlight upon an institution which constituted one of the most serious of the limitations placed upon personal freedom in what was to become celebrated as the Land of Liberty. His assertion that between one half and two thirds of the colonists south of New England started their American lives under indentures will probably shock the layman, so consistently have professional historians minimized this important fact in our development.

Yet it is somewhat strange that the demands of national pride should have obscured this point; for the thing which gave uniqueness to the American experience was not who came and how, but rather what happened to them after they got here. True, thousands of men and women and children arrived on these shores to endure a period of four years of compulsory labor without wages or elementary personal freedoms—a high price for passage. But once the debt was discharged, then the remarkable fluidity which characterized American society from the beginning came into play. Men, once bound laborers, could become merchants or plantation lords. Forty-three percent of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1663 had been indentured servants

The factual content of Smith's book does not emphasize or explore thoroughly this final aspect of the indentured servant's experience. Even the actual servitude in America is subordinated to what happened prior to the westward voyage. But on every page of the story of the gathering of the servants, their contracts, the preparations for departure, the motives and machinations of the entrepreneurs, there is evidenced the most painstaking and effective research, especially into the voluminous public records of the British government.

Particularly interesting in this saga of a tremendous migration is the material which the author has assembled concerning the men who financed the operations by which German peasants or impoverished English farmers were transplanted thousands of miles to a new world. The governments, as such, had a very minor role in these arrangements. Indeed, Smith asserts that "the real stimulation to migration was not the desire of servants to go to America but rather the desire of merchants to secure them as cargo." In exploring the ramifications of the profit motive in the settlement of these colonists, the author has perhaps neglected an adequate description of the European conditions which made these people fit prey for promoters anxious to sell their services in a distant land. But careful treatment has been given elsewhere to the wars and depressions, the starvations and exploitations of 17th- and 18th-century Europe; and whatever distortion is present probably results not from a limited view but from a necessary pruning of subject matter.

One has a more serious quarrel with the author for the manner in which he has divided his attention among the servant groups. Convicts and political and military prisoners, for example, are given considerably more space than the non-penal peasants who came in greater numbers. This seems true despite the severity of the laws defining in criminal terms some of the unemployed poor. The same unfortunate emphasis seems apparent in the author's description of the indentured servants as a whole: "The servants were . . . for the most part men and women of low grade, lazy, unambitious, ignorant, prone to small crimes and petty evasions, an unsavory and sometimes a dangerous class especially in those regions where there were many transported convicts." That such a characterization may be too extreme is indicated elsewhere by the author himself when he says, ". . . one must expect to find persons described as vicious rogues who were in fact only poor, unfortunate, and dirty."

Yet surely this book as a whole deserves high praise. Founded in scholarship, it is at the same time defined by it. Whatever faults one finds probably derive from sentimental blocks constructed within the reader in the face of a totally dispassionate conception and a presentation whose imaginative content is equal to that of an almanac.

Columbia University DONALD SHEEHAN

John Singleton Copley. By James Thomas Flexner. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1948. vii–xv + 139 pages, biblio., index, frontispiece in color, 32 plates. $7.50.)

Much material has been published on John Singleton Copley, our foremost Colonial painter, but this is the first full-length book which in lively, narrative style undertakes to analyze in detail the character of the man and his paintings in relation to his times and his fellow painters. Actually, what Mr. Flexner has done in this volume is to graft onto his biography of Copley, which appeared in 1939 as one of the four monographs in his *America's Old Masters*, a detailed analysis of the painting of the period, gleaned while preparing his *American Painting: First Flowers of our Wilderness*, published in 1947. The grafting has not been done in one piece, however, but cleverly dispersed throughout, so that the reader who likes a good story may not notice that he has also swallowed along with it a treatise on 18th-century painting.

In telling the story, Mr. Flexner shows that he knows his source material well. He gives a vivid picture of life in Boston when Copley lived there, during the thirty-seven years preceding the Revolution, and he reconstructs the sensations of an artistic, peace-loving personality living through that tumultuous period. The account of Copley's mediative part in the Boston Tea Party had been overlooked by previous biographers, and it is one of the most interesting chapters in the book. The explanation of why Copley put off until the eve of the Revolution his trip to Europe to study painting, and of why he settled in London with his family never again returning to America, are plausibly explained. That Copley was by sympathy thoroughly American, is brought out in numerous ways, but nowhere more picturesquely than in the following quotation from the diary of George Carter, an English painter with whom Copley traveled through the Continent in 1775. "This companion of mine [Copley] is rather a singular character. He seems happy at taking things at the wrong end, and labored near a half-hour today to prove that a huckaback towel was softer than a Barcelona silk handkerchief. . . . my agreeable companion suspects he has got a cold upon his lungs. He is now sitting by a fire, the heat of which makes me very faint . . . complaining that the wood of this country don't give half the heat that the wood of America does; and has just finished a long-winded discourse upon the merits of an American woodfire to one of our coal." This is a revealing bit of firsthand information on an artist whose personality has always remained somewhat of an enigma to this reviewer, in spite of considerable study. Mr. Flexner has also done a thorough piece of research on the second half of Copley's life spent in London, describing the many years of success, followed by the tragic years of outworn powers, but enlivened for the reader by the ludicrous story of the *Knatchbull Family Portrait*.

In bringing to life a personality which has resisted resuscitation from other biographers, certain exaggerations have crept in for which there is at best only negative evidence. For example, it is certainly true that Copley's intimates were in his family circle, and that he devoted the major part of his life to his profession with little time for social contacts, but an unnecessary exaggeration to say that "he was so afraid of his fellow men that he never had a friend." There are, in fact, constant references to his friends throughout the book. Again, though no one imagines the artist as a jolly man, when Mr. Flexner stresses that he was devoid of humor, one wonders, with these extreme limitations, how Copley could have been such a good portrait painter.

The author agrees, however, that Mr. Copley was a good portrait painter, and he traces the evolution of his style from the untrained Colonial limner of genius, to the brilliant London portrait and historical painter, and finally to the aged dauber who insisted on using his paints and brushes to the end. Though thoroughly appreciating the painter's work in oil, Mr. Flexner fails to stress the fact that his pastels, such as his *Self-Portrait* (Plate 1), and his watercolor miniatures, such as the exquisite little portraits of *Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Cary* (Plate 6), surpass anything being done by his American contemporaries in these mediums. It should also be pointed out that in the author's discussion of the portrait of *James Otis, Sr.* (Plate 12), he has confused him with James Otis, Jr., the patriot; and perhaps for the sake of liveliness the author sees in Copley's sitters, such as *Midshipman Brine,* certain characteristics which, if not straight fiction, are heightened by Mr. Flexner's imagination. But he has put into his discussion of Copley's paintings mature thought and sound conclusion, and since most of the pictures discussed are illustrated, no thorough reader will put down the book without having acquired a well-balanced knowledge of Copley's work.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston BARBARA N. PARKER

Some American Billheads from the Collection of Bella C. Landauer at The New-York Historical Society. [Compiled with an introductory essay: "Pictorial Billheads as Historical Documents," by BELLA C. LANDAUER.] ([New York:] Privately issued [at The New-York Historical Society], 1949. 66 unnumbered leaves, 11 x 18 inches; 295 illus.)

Who but the honorary curator of the Society's Bella C. Landauer Collection would have thought of the lowly billhead as a profitable subject for study in the history of the graphic arts, as well as of advertising, business, and material progress generally? A perusal of this handsomely conceived and executed volume proves such a study very much worth while.

In her introductory essay on "Pictorial Billheads as Historical Documents," Mrs. Landauer traces the origin of this "common garden variety

of graphic art" in 18th- and early 19th-century England and France and points out how "A study of this first-of-the-month harbinger of bad news vividly reconstructs the mores of the past. No other form of advertising is likely to be quite so permanent. Prior to checking-account days, people were forced to keep their receipts, and in many an attic yearly accumulations were bundled, labeled according to firms, and preserved for reference." A goodly number of these, dating from more than a century and a half ago, have found their way into the Landauer Collection at The New-York Historical Society where they are classified for the research of scholars.

Few 18th-century American bills had printed or decorative heads. The earliest known of these—a 1787 bill of the Philadelphia bookseller Thomas Seddon—is reproduced on the title page of the present volume less as decoration than as illustration of the potentiality of billheads as historical source material. Addressed to "His Excellency George Washington Esq^r.," it "shows the then-President of the Constitutional Convention as interested and able to buy in Philadelphia, Chastteleux's [Castellux] *Travels in North America in the Years 1780–82* only a few months after its publication in London." It also illustrates Mrs. Landauer's point that the earliest printed billheads relied more on typographical than pictorial factors for decoration.

This reviewer must disagree, however, with Mrs. Landauer's stated preference for the billheads which came after 1850, in which she finds a tendency "to progress in pictorial originality and informativeness." None of the later billheads reproduced surpasses and few equal in pictorial appeal the 1815 billhead of the Boston Glass-Manufactory; or that of the Worcester Hotel, 1831; or of Brown's Indian Queen Hotel, Washington City, 1832; or of Frederick Brown's Drug & Chemical Store, Philadelphia, 1839; or of Geo. Vail's Speedwell Iron Works, Morris County, N. J., 1846; or others which could be mentioned. Indeed, the compiler herself selected far more than half of the 295 billheads reproduced, from the earlier period although the abundance of later billheads offered far wider scope of choice.

Since the arrangement is not chronological, it may be of interest to indicate the number of reproductions representative of each decade. For the 18th century (which produced few printed billheads and of which few survive) nine are reproduced; for the decade 1801–10, three; 1811–20, twenty-seven; 1821–30, sixteen; 1831–40, fifty-two; 1841–50, fifty-eight; 1851–60, seventy-five; 1861–70, thirty-five; 1871–80, ten; 1881–90, one; and nine are undated.

The billheads are arranged in 26 groups by class of business or article sold, ranging alphabetically from Baskets to Transportation, and with a miscellaneous section embracing 13 categories. Over two hundred firms are represented, scattered geographically through a score of States (all east of the Mississippi) and the District of Columbia, in more than

sixty towns and cities. Though no attempt was made to have it do so, the number of billheads reproduced from each city, in comparison with the respective numbers for other cities, probably roughly represents its relative commercial importance in the America of the dates covered. New York City naturally comes first with 85, Boston next with 68, and Philadelphia third with 37. Charleston, S.C., has nine; Troy, N.Y., eight; New Haven and Albany, each six; and Cincinnati, Concord, N.H., Hartford, Conn., and Schenectady, N.Y., are represented by three apiece. The other half-hundred towns each appear in the addresses of one or two billheads. Since the volume regrettably contains no index, it may be useful to supply that deficiency in part by an alphabetical list of the towns and cities here:

Albany, N.Y.	Frankfort, Pa.	Peoria, Ill.
Ansonia, Conn.	Fredricksburg, Va.	Petersburgh, Va.
Ballardvale, Mass	Georgetown, D.C.	Philadelphia, Pa.
Battleboro, Mass.	Hartford, Conn.	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Boston, Mass.	Hinsdale, N.H.	Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Brooklyn, N.Y.	Indianapolis, Ind.	Rockaway, N.Y.
Buffalo, N.Y.	Jersey City, N.J.	Rock Island, Ill.
Cambridgeport, Mass.	Kingsboro, N.Y.	Rutland, Vt.
Camden, N.J.	Leominster, Mass.	St. Johnsbury, Vt.
Charleston, S.C.	Manchester, N.H.	Savannah, Ga.
Chicago, Ill.	Manhattanville, N.Y.	Schenectady, N.Y.
Cincinnati, Ohio	Middletown, N.Y.	Springfield, Mass.
Clarksville, Tenn.	Montpelier, Vt.	Tallahassee, Fla.
Clayville, N.Y.	Newark, N.J.	Troy, N.Y.
Cleveland, Ohio	Newburg, N.Y.	Washington, D.C.
Cloversville, N.Y.	New Haven, Conn.	Watertown, N.Y.
Columbia, S.C.	New Orleans, La.	Windsor, Vt.
Concord, N.H.	Newport, R.I.	Woodstock, Vt.
Dover, Dela.	New York, N.Y.	Worcester, Mass.
Enfield, N.H.	North Adams, Mass.	Zanesville, Ohio

This attractive volume was manufactured in its entirety at The New-York Historical Society—printed by Michael Lazlo, the Society's photostat operator, and bound by Joseph Schwarz, chief of the bindery. A limited edition of twenty copies was published for distribution to historical societies, universities, and museum libraries accessible to scholars. The negatives, however, have been preserved and, in the event of a substantial demand, a second edition will be printed for sale. Meanwhile, the collection itself is open to all sufficiently interested to visit the Society.

The New-York Historical Society CHARLES E. BAKER

The Mohawk. By Codman Hislop. In the Rivers of America Series, edited by Hervey Allen and Carl Carmer. (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1948. xv + 367 pages, biblio., index, illus., maps. $3.75.)

The Mohawk, measured by national importance, well merited its choice as thirty-sixth in that significant Rivers of America series, for in the words of the author: "It was the peculiar function of the Mohawk River . . . to carve out the easiest passage through the Appalachian plateau along which men could move to other regions. . . . In that service for generations the Mohawk River had been perhaps the most important river on the continent."

The book is a series of pen pictures sketched, not from the constricted viewpoint of the local historian, but from the wider horizons of State or nation. Altogether, the work is nicely executed. Where the picture is not drawn in detail the author suggests: "The reader can pick up the old trails leading to the door-ways of once-great houses, and through 'canawl' towns, and on backward through time until he stands on the shores of ancient Iromohawk." These "trails" are found in the bibliography the author provides.

The first part of the work is titled "Gateway to the West," the second part, "The New Breed." Part one deals with geologic history, aboriginal occupation and the formation of the highly organized League of the Six Nations, the coming of the Dutch, the English, and the German Palatines. No history of the Valley would be complete without an extended consideration of Sir William Johnson. Four chapters are devoted to him and his period. The Battle of Oriskany, the siege of Fort Stanwix, and the Battle of Johnstown, closing event of the Revolution in the Mohawk Valley, add another three chapters to complete this section.

Part Two, "The New Breed," in seven chapters pictures the Valley from the post-Revolutionary period to the present time. The pictures painted are "The Whitestone Country" (the upper end of the Valley), the Erie Canal and associated waterways-development, the establishment and growth of railroads, a chapter on the varied types of Valley architecture, another on labor relations, and a concluding chapter on Schenectady's General Electric Company, its growth, and its beneficent contributions to the American way of life.

So much for the character and all-over content of the book. Considered more specifically one is conscious of added color, spirit, and a deeper meaning revealed by this most recent recounting of such events as the tragic Schenectady massacre; the cold feels colder, the snow deeper, the silence of night and the skulking Indians more terrifying. Read a few random sentences:

"As silently as sleep and death come into the dark room, so the Frenchmen slipped through the open gate: Sainte-Helene, deMontet, and their soldiers who had the smell of bear fat on them, Kryn and his Indians, as

excited as children to be at a game. . . . Then the Indian signal. It slipped like a knife up the seam of sleep. . . . The moon moved down toward the Helderbergs. The Dorp Schenectady was a flaming, ugly square in the deep snow and cold. . . . A wounded horse fought through the snow on the Niskayuna road. Simon Schermerhorn, . . . rode through the night to tell his neighbors and Albany of the end of their world."

The chapters on Sir William Johnson sketch the man against the shifting backgrounds of his life: "Johnson's uncle, Peter Warren, an adventurous British naval officer, married the daughter of the chief justice of New York. Young Johnson had fine connections." We see him installed as manager of the Warren lands at Warrensbush where the braves from Fort Hunter came down to trade "and got an honest deal." His purchase of the bonded servant Catherine Weisenberg and the birth of a son and two daughters (the son later to become Sir John Johnson) are chronicled. Catherine died to be succeeded by Caroline, niece of King Hendrick, the Mohawk chief, and she in turn by Molly Brant, the "Brown Lady of Johnson Hall." Johnson's Indian attachments, domestic, commercial and professional brought him power: "Along the Mohawk River, and to all those colonists who knew what Johnson's long control of the Iroquois had meant in the breakup of New France, there was a growing belief that Sir William Johnson, Bart., was the biggest man in British America."

The story follows him progressively from one fine home to another; trails him faithfully to his great successes at Lake George, Niagara, and Montreal; it clearly discloses the white man's selfish sinning against Johnson's Indian wards—fraudulent land surveys, illicit liquor trading, overrunning of treaty and boundary lines—and pictures him rubbing shoulders with Iroquois chiefs as they argue, the huge map before them, the location of the Fort Stanwix treaty line. It was another of his diplomatic triumphs: "There, on the banks of the Mohawk, for less than it costs New York City to clean up the streets after a single light snowstorm, the Iroquois and their allies traded off the lands out of which western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky were formed."

"The Field of Nettles" (The Battle of Oriskany) and the concurrent siege of Fort Stanwix, most consequential engagements of the Revolution which occurred in the Mohawk Valley, are outlined with a simple directness and the principal characters as simply drawn. "Nicholas Herkimer, 'Old Honikol' to most of the men who came to the musters was a big man horizontally, but not tall," led the Tryon County Militia into the ambush only after being accused of cowardice by his Colonels ("Cox a blowhard and a one-time friend of Sir John Johnson's" . . . and "Colonel Fisher the troublemaker with the polished boots"). "And that was the Battle of Oriskany. It was ugly, and stupid, and, in its agony, a theme for poets."

As for the relief of Fort Stanwix, Hon Yost Schuyler should appear. He does: "General Arnold knew a traitor when he saw one, and only agreed to the mild penalty of one hundred lashes because Hon Yost had no sense. Then someone thought up the bright deception. . . . That night Hon Yost slipped through the sally port as the guard looked the other way. His slow wits, turning like the wooden wheels in the clock as he hurried up the river road. . . . St. Leger had him brought to his tent. . . . Yes, yes! Arnold had two thousand soldiers. Maybe more. They were going to pay the British back for what had happened at Oriskany. . . . Fear spread among the Indians like small-pox . . . fear turned to panic . . . panic quickly spread to the troops. . . . Panic turned to rout . . . The bright deception had worked and Hon Yost Schuyler's task was over."

Three chapters tell the story of "Transportation." They are convincingly predicated: "Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania rested their chins on the rock wall that ran down their western boundaries, watched the feast being laid out in the Northwest Territory that would soon break up into grain and ore-rich states, and schemed to sit in on it. But none of them had a Valley like the Mohawk. They probed every mountain pass for a way to Lake Erie and had to be content at last with their turnpikes."

This *is* a picture of wide horizons; but there are closeups. Stumps must be pulled and contrivances invented to do it, miles of dirt to be dug, bridges and aqueducts built, to complete this trans-State four-foot-by-forty "V'd ditch." You see it all and understand the resultant economic success of the "Towpath Miracle" born of that first muddy trickle of water.

Then came the railroad with its swift competition. The day was August 9, 1831. "The DeWitt Clinton, its firebox roaring stood at the western edge of Albany. . . . The 'Exhibition Run' had sold out at 50 cents a head. Mr. John Clark . . . collected his tickets from the apprehensive passengers, climbed into his buggy seat behind the tender and 'gave the signal with a tin horn.' There was a violent jerk. Beaver hats collapsed against coach roofs and a shower of smoke and sparks surged back among the passengers. Everyone was delighted and frightened to death and the train moved."

Codman Hislop has pursued the main course of the current, stopping to view the important but pointing out those spots where the incident is integrated with the whole. The story is a successful blending of that unstable compound: history + narrative, to which he has added enlivening imagination. The book is direct and entertainingly written and despite only partial documentation is convincing history in a most palatable form.

N. Y. State Education Dept. JOHN J. VROOMAN

The Campaign of Princeton, 1776–1777. By ALFRED HOYT BILL. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1948. ix + 145 pages, bibliography, index, maps. $2.50.)

The story of the nine days, December 26, 1776, through January 4, 1777, of Washington's successful campaigning in West New Jersey is presented here in detail—the interesting detail omitted from general histories of the war. The events of this short period are interesting not only in their purely military aspects, but also in their effect on the future of the American cause. Few of the many Americans who remember the dramatic descent on the Hessians at Trenton and the battle of Princeton that followed, know the circumstances that preceded and laid the setting for those actions or the crowded events of the interim period. Yet, this short campaign was one of tremendous importance. It raised the hopes of the patriots from what the author believes to be the lowest point they would ever reach and inspired enough new recruits to join Washington as replacements for those whose enlistments were up as to allay fears that the army would dwindle to a point where offensive action would be no longer possible.

After the misfortunes of 1776 in the New York area Washington had been forced to retreat to Pennsylvania. The British had then overrun New Jersey and optimistically, if not foolishly, stretched their lines through a series of outposts all the way from New York to Trenton and south to Bordentown. American morale needed more than guerilla activity against these scattered outposts. Thus it was that the raid on Trenton was planned. The reader can follow the details of this famous incident as easily as though he were seeing them through the eye of a camera moving from scene to scene. The camera moves from Washington's preparations to the situation of the Hessians at Bordentown, Mount Holly, and at Trenton where overconfidence rather than drunkenness seems to have been mainly responsible for their lack of adequate defenses. During the actual operation it follows the moves of each side as well as the little-known work of the Pennsylvania naval squadron on the Delaware and Putnam's delaying action with the Germans south of Trenton.

The events which followed the return of Washington with his prisoners to the west side of the Delaware are as exciting as the better-known facts—the second eastward crossing of the river, the delaying action against Cornwallis on his way to retake Trenton, the "second battle of Trenton" which flared until dark on January 2d, Cornwallis's confidence in the situation that led him to decide he could catch the Americans in the morning, and Washington's strategic withdrawal during the night and march around Trenton up to Princeton. The successful fighting with the British troops guarding Princeton is so graphically told that one wants to shout encouragement to Mercer's men as they fall into rout and lend a hand in the final defeat of the British 40th and 55th Regiments that opened the doors of the town to the American troops.

This book is more factually detailed than the account in Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution*, though it adds little to the minutely detailed description of this campaign so carefully presented by William S. Stryker in *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* published in 1898. The author has, however, given some supplementary material from the Clinton, Germain, and William Knox papers in the Clements Memorial Library at the University of Michigan, not available to previous students of the campaign.

Though the volume is small the author has managed to insert biographical introductions to the leaders on both sides without seeming to interrupt the narrative. He has also made his geographical description of the area covered more real by reference to present-day place names and by the inclusion of five excellent, yet simple, maps showing both area and troop dispositions.

This book follows the school of thought that considers Washington a brilliant military strategist. In trying to give credit for the idea of a night march out of the trap Cornwallis had them in and the attack on Princeton in the British rear, the author says that no matter who proposed the idea, Washington "had had it in his mind from the moment when he understood that the initiative had passed to the enemy." A substantial number of other historians, among them Bancroft, Fiske, Trevelyan, and Stryker concur in this opinion, though the credit has at various times been awarded to others, especially to General St. Clair and to General Mercer. It would appear from the story that there was a considerable amount of good luck involved in the campaign too. One instance was the sudden change in weather that froze the muddy roads on the very night of the march and enabled Washington to reach and capture Princeton before Cornwallis could discover where he had gone. And if the British had been able successfully to oppose the rebels in any of the face-to-face fighting the tactical moves would not perhaps have shown in such a glorious light. However, the author has submitted corroboration for his opinion by "the father of modern tactics," von Bülow, who described the move on Trenton as "'one of the best planned and most ably executed' military movements of the century. 'It was, however,' he continued, 'excelled by the Princeton offensive, and both operations are sufficient to elevate a general to the temple of immortality.'"

Washington's finale to this campaign was, if not brilliant, very sound under the circumstances. He withdrew to winter quarters at Morristown from where he was able to harass the British who had withdrawn to the two outposts of New Brunswick and Perth Amboy.

Mr. Bill's book has an easy narrative flow, lacking in Stryker's, that could make his account instructive for a much wider audience, and so bring more people to a knowledge of this important point in our country's past.

The New-York Historical Society ROBERTA LEIGHTON

General Gage in America, Being Principally A History of His Role in the American Revolution. By JOHN RICHARD ALDEN. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. xi + 313 pages, index, illus. $4.00.)

Professor Alden has given us a long-needed study of the luckless Briton, General Thomas Gage, who sparked the American revolt to revolution in April 1775. The book is worth all it cost, digging through volume after volume of manuscripts in serried ranks on library shelves, notably in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor. I can see those volumes now—scores of them. Dr. Alden did not find a great deal in human interest to enliven his work. Some day, let us hope, he may have an opportunity to explore more thoroughly the innermost springs of Gage's pedestrian mind. Let us also hope that he may get the time to delve more deeply into the lives of some of Gage's contemporaries; Gates, for one.

Thomas Gage was a lad born to the good fortune of an adoring elder brother. We follow the boy to Westminster School and meet his schoolmates, not a few of them men of mark in years ahead, and helpful boosters to military preferment. Gage had need of boosting. For, as Dr. Alden rightly says, he was not an intellectual; perhaps he was socially favored for that very reason. Wires were constantly pulled in his behalf; if no bell rang, Lord Gage pulled again and again, as when Brother Tom aspired to be a brigadier. True, this was in the prevailing pattern, but that does not cancel out the particular fact.

Gage fought under Braddock—gloriously or not, as you will. Dr. Alden thinks better of him than others do, myself included. Certainly, Lt. Col. Gage lacked enough grace to see the common soldier as "the big, bad wolf" on that ill-starred 9th of July 1755, whereas it may have been the common soldier's stupid, unresourceful superiors. I would not deny Gage his modicum of glory; he played a man's part, even if an uninspired one. Again, we take his measure, however, when with unseemly haste he importuned his boyhood chum, the Earl of Albemarle, to help him to the fallen Halkett's leaderless command.

The gods smiled on Thomas Gage. Why not? In due time, he became governor of Montreal, and not the worst of governors. The year 1763 saw him commander-in-chief following the retirement of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, better friend than Gage deserved. I differ with the author here. Sir Jeffrey has not received his due for the conquest of Canada, if such it may be styled. Thus do gleaners in the same field examine fruit with varying taste.

With blinkered sights, the general served King and country in New York and, later, in Boston: twelve precious, fateful years! If the British command in America had been other than political appointees, the Revolution might have had a different story. If Gage had been of larger

mold, it might have died a-borning—as most wars would by the same token.

General Gage was conscientious; he was as hard-working as an 18th-century British officer could be expected to be. He was genial, convivial, likable, even lovable. With his charming, socially climbing American wife, whose relatives he feather-bedded in soft jobs, he lived in comparative comfort for nearly a decade on Broad Street, New York. He held things down pretty well: not the most difficult of tasks, for he was intimate with stalwarts of the *status quo* like Cadwallader Colden and John Watts. One matter puzzles me. What really did Gage do with the £5000, which he got for "bat and forage" from Sir William Howe by way of Mrs. Gage's cousin, Major Shirreff, deputy quartermaster general? Dr. Alden extenuates the matter but it invites further probing. Official whitewash—as late as 1785—raises questions. The general was as cagey as he was later canny in his "legal maneuver," as Dr. Alden calls it, to hold on to his American estate.

We have Gage at last both governor of Massachusetts and commander-in-chief of the royal forces. The two-fold responsibility acted like heady wine. Some men grow through challenge; some do not. Gage's career had touched its apogee; it would presently reach its perigee. A King's man through and through, he showed little moral courage and less good sense. Dr. Alden gives him "a break," which the facts do not wholly warrant, as I interpret them. I may seem unkind, but His Majesty's chief servant was a stubborn, unimaginative snob, whom the British Empire had the bad luck to place high in a time for greatness, and over people who knew what they wanted and knew how to get it. Gage despised them and their leaders almost as cordially as he had the Indians and theirs. If he had sat down with Samuel Adams and John Hancock, honestly, forthrightly, he might not have had to bother his addled brain about those military stores at Concord. If he had listened to his oldtime friends and comrades-in-arms, Horatio Gates and Charles Lee, eccentric but no fool, he might have spared himself the humiliation of recall and let the transport *Pallas* sail without him through the darkness of Boston Harbor.

"You have doubtless noted how fussy and irritable a hen is, . . . trying to get her chickens under her," observed a retiring American statesman a generation ago. "I have often felt like a hen. . . . At times, I have . . . feared one of my chickens would creep out. We do not question the good intentions of the hen under the circumstances, and I hope you won't question mine."—Thomas Gage could have uttered those words. If we may dare cite a quotation from the late Col. George Harvey, editor of the former *North American Review:* "He seen his duty and done his damnedest."

New York City SAMUEL WHITE PATTERSON

Presidents on Parade. By HIRST MILHOLLEN and MILTON KAPLAN, with a foreword by LUTHER H. EVANS, Librarian of Congress. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. 425 pages. $7.50.)

If this picture book is not a best seller, it certainly should be. It is as hard to imagine a childhood without picture books as it is to imagine the room of an adult without a national picture magazine. Simply speaking, this is a picture book with something in it for everybody. Father may be most interested in Mathew Brady's uncanny genius at catching the likenesses of our Presidents. From their portraits, the present reviewer would like to place in nomination for the "Fairest First Ladies": Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, Mrs. Grover Cleveland, Mrs. William McKinley, and the second Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. The boys will be awestruck and some adults will be dumbfounded at the photograph entitled "Colonel Roosevelt and His Rough Riders at the Top of San Juan Hill." The girls should be edified by the decorous manner in which little girls stood at the side of Andrew Jackson's deathbed with moist handkerchiefs and immaculate pantelettes. There is enough fun in this book for everybody, but it is also a contribution of no small magnitude.

The late I. N. P. Stokes, probably our foremost iconographer, observed: "Unquestionably the finest and most comprehensive *public* collection [of historical prints] in the United States is that of the Library of Congress." (Stokes, *Historical Prints* [New York Public Library, 1932] p. xvi). About 260 of the author's 426 illustrations are taken from the Library's outstanding collection. Some gaps are filled in by photographs taken by Mr. Milhollen, the senior author. These show skill and, not infrequently, distinction. Mr. Kaplan has likewise shown knowledge and a discriminating taste in selecting about 100 lithographs and 60 wood engravings without neglecting the other graphic media. To give an idea of the perspective of the book: there are 29 pages on Washington, 13 on Fillmore, 27 on Lincoln, 12 on Harding, and 20 on F. D. Roosevelt.

As to the place of this volume in the libraries and in the minds of students of history, the Librarian of Congress ably summarizes the situation in a sentence of his foreword. A decade ago, when he made some pioneering attempts at trail-blazing in the field of iconography, there were few to bid him "Aye" and "God speed." Today he writes: "The pictorial sources for American history . . . , appreciated today as never before, require the same careful study and critical treatment as any other sources."

As to critical apparatus: The illustrations are carefully documented in regard to authorship, medium, date, and collection where found. Three quarters of the plates are either by eyewitnesses or based on eyewitness portrayals. Little more could be asked in the way of credible source material. The omission of so necessary an adjunct as an index is appalling. But, from virtually every other viewpoint, this is a volume to enlighten the minds and raise the spirits of those who turn its pages.

Bethesda, Maryland GEORGE C. GROCE

California Pictorial. By Jeanne Van Nostrand and Edith M. Coulter. (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948. ix + 159 pages, index of artists, illus., $10.00.)

This is the story of California from 1786, the date of the first visit of foreigners to any of the Spanish settlements there, to 1859, the post-Gold Rush period of permanent growth, as told in drawings and pictures painted by "on-the-spot" observers. The pictures are accompanied by a brief historical text and notes on the drawing and the artist.

Many of the illustrations were gleaned from contemporary newspapers, diaries, and manuscripts, and several are reproduced for the first time. Many of the artists are as unfamiliar as their pictures, either as names in history or in painting. Thirty-three of them are previously unrecorded as artists in the United States—though a few are known by their work elsewhere. In the first section, California under Spanish rule, the illustrations were done by artist-explorers from Spain, France, England, and Russia. Their sketches were part of the official reports of the expeditions kept in the archives of their governments. Many, however, have survived only through published reproductions. New artists-by-avocation appear in the section, California under Mexico. They were often military and naval men who visited California during the Mexican War. Though several of them, such as Alfred Sully and Joseph Warren Revere, have found their place in history for their military exploits, this is probably the first time their artistic ventures have been made known. The ten-year period following the gold discovery is shown with works by both professional and amateur artists.

The repetition of subject-matter at different dates affords an excellent opportunity to see the growth of California towns—a growth pushed considerably above the normal by the rush of gold-seekers. Thus, for example, we can compare the mission of San Carlos as it was in 1794, 1827, and 1839; the little town of Yerba Buena in 1806 and 1837 with the city of San Francisco, which it became, in 1847 and 1854; Sacramento in 1849 and in 1857; and Stockton in 1849 and in 1856.

The pictures of the gold-rush period itself present a thorough story. First are shown the "roads to California," next, the towns and settlements the prospectors found, followed by scenes of actual operations and living conditions in the gold fields, and the new towns that mushroomed only to become ghost towns when the fever subsided. This is the gold rush as its participants saw and recorded it.

One could wish that more than ten of the illustrations were in color, but, even with black-and-whites, the book is beautifully put together, with space to enjoy the picture and history separated from notes on artist and drawing. It is an interesting and informative supplement to wordy histories of the State, and valuable documentary material for citizens of all States.

The New-York Historical Society Roberta Leighton

Highlights among The Hudson River Artists. By Clara Endicott Sears. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947. xvii + 217 pages + 63 plates and color frontis. $5.00.)

The romantic nationalism of the 19th century expressed itself in American painting by a new delight in our scenic wonders and a shifting of public interest from portraiture toward landscape. In the Hudson River Valley particularly, under the tutelage of Durand and Cole, there sprang up a pure and native school of landscape painting.

Miss Sears has faithfully summarized the lives of these pioneer American landscapists and their followers. Her presentation of the highlights of their hopes and accomplishments makes more enjoyable reading for those interested in American cultural development in general than instructive reading for specialists in art history. The contemporary tributes to the Hudson River artists from which the author quotes deserve to be remembered by lovers of American scenery, American art, and the American way.

The illustrations are well selected, adequately reproduced, and a joy in themselves.

The New-York Historical Society Betty Ezequelle

William C. Whitney, Modern Warwick. By Mark D. Hirsch. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1948. xiii + 622 pages, biblio., index, illus. $5.00.)

If the lack of adequate studies of businessmen has placed large obstacles in the way of our understanding of American history in general, it has created an almost impenetrable barrier to a comprehension of the period between Appomattox and the First World War. The easy generality which equates the philosophy of the destructive Jay Gould with that of businessmen in general is a distortion which survives in a vacuum of ignorance.

William C. Whitney is scarcely a typical figure, yet his ethical standards were undoubtedly more representative of his age than were those of Gould. But in this study of Hirsch's it is the political contribution of Whitney which is presented most clearly and effectively. And the author has chosen generally to emphasize what was unique about Whitney rather than to expatiate on his typicalness.

It is certainly true that Whitney did make a unique contribution to American life. Less important in the smashing of the Tweed Ring than Hirsch would have us believe, he served as Corporation Counsel for the City of New York with singular efficiency and conscientiousness, went on in Cleveland's cabinet to become, in a real sense, the founder of the modern American Navy, and provided Mark Hanna with a model of political adroitness by securing Cleveland's nomination and re-election

in 1892. This record of public service Hirsch has documented and traced with scrupulous care and scholarly enthusiasm.

Yet Whitney was also a businessman—indeed he devoted many years to the practice of law and to the organization and development of business corporations. It is unfortunate that the chapters dealing with Whitney's commercial activities are the weakest in the book. Hirsch has either brushed over episodes, or loaded them down with such a bewildering mass of financial detail that they are incomprehensible. What analysis and interpretation is supplied comes in a capsule form which is simply inadequate. When he reaches the climax of Whitney's business career—his role in the organization of New York's transportation system—the author becomes an apologist, emphasizing Whitney's dream of public service while passing lightly over the financial chaos which resulted from his unscrupulous methods and venality.

Of course attention is called properly to the constructive aspects of this frightful scramble for city franchises. The complete amorality of men like Fiske and Gould was not echoed in Whitney, nor in the vast number of businessmen of the period. Indeed, the legitimacy of the ends of business as a whole constitutes the major argument against the "Gould equals business" equation—so obvious an argument it is often overlooked.

Yet one can be more harsh with Hirsch for not lingering more over the question of ethics, both for the light they would shed on Whitney as an individual, and as a representative of his day. Indeed, the author has failed most conspicuously in his presentation of Whitney's inner life. We know little or nothing of his motives, his political or social beliefs, or his ethical standards. One would like to know—and Hirsch does not venture a guess—how he reconciled his zealous protection of public property as Corporation Counsel and Secretary of the Navy, with his predatory assaults, as a traction magnate, upon the integrity of public officials. To say—in a sentence of two—that he reflected his times, is merely to dodge the question. But a serious analysis of how public-spiritedness and the corruption of public servants could be joined in one man would explain much about these decades of our history. Hirsch makes no attempt to solve this crucial problem, or even to state it clearly. Indeed, by explaining Whitney's methods in a general reference to the era, he is actually invoking the shade of Jay Gould in the defense of a man—and an era—far superior to him in every way.

In summary, Hirsch has given us a biography monumental in its scholarship but limited in its creative elements. The modesty of the conception defines, unfortunately, the range of its usefulness. However necessary the assembling of facts may be, the sheer bulk of careful detail can never be a substitute for the final job of weighing its significance.

Columbia University DONALD SHEEHAN

An Album of American Battle Art, 1755–1918. By the Library of Congress. U. S. Government Printing Office. (Washington, D. C.: 1947. xvi + 319 pages of text and plates. $5.00.)

Here is a book that has greater importance than its title indicates. It is the result of an exhibition of graphic art relating to American Battle Art, 1755–1918, held at the Library of Congress in 1944, during a period when battle art was a very timely subject. The original inspiration for the exhibition came from Lincoln Kirstein, who had planned an important showing of *American Battle Art Painting* for the National Gallery of Art in Washington. The exhibition was subsequently seen at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The illustrations in this present volume, chronologically arranged, offer more than just the history of battle art, for they actually illustrate the history of American print-making up to about the time of the Civil War. Books on early American prints are so few that we can name the chief writers in a very brief space: Stauffer on American Engravers, Stokes on town views, and the late Harry T. Peters on American lithographers. Two other scholars, Lawrence Wroth and Dr. Frank Weitenkampf, have also enlightened us with useful publications on the subject.

Tracing the various wars that have been fought within the present territory of the United States, from the French and Indian Wars of 1755–1765 on through the first World War, each of the ten chapters is illustrated with the major pictorial residue from the crude early engravings to the equally crude chromolithographs of the late 19th century on to photographs of the period almost within our memory, 1914–1918. Of the 150 illustrations the majority come from the tremendous holdings in the graphic arts at the Library of Congress. Prints from other sources are duly credited in the text, but ownership is not indicated in the caption accompanying each illustration. It would seem more desirable that the ownership of "borrowed" items should appear with each illustration, not only to please the scholars but as a courtesy to the various private and public collections who own the originals. Otherwise the captions, although all too brief, consistently give such basic information as title, date of the event, print-maker and date of publication. Thus one is able to determine the time-lag between the event and the appearance of the print. It will be noticed that several familiar prints such as "General Marion in his Swamp Encampment" and "Peter Francisco's Gallant Action" (Plates no. 64 & 65) were published a generation or more after the events depicted. Paul Revere and Amos Doolittle had such sense for reporting important news events that they published their work within the respective calendar years—see "Boston Massacre" (Plate 10) and the Battles of Lexington and Concord (Plates 11–14).

This book, an important contribution to the literature on American graphic arts, contains a quantity of well-organized historical informa-

tion in the text which is arranged in the form of a catalogue. Each illustration is well documented; the original artist and the print-maker are accounted for, and then the event itself is well described. The man in charge of this publication, Donald H. Mugridge, has done a thorough job indeed—a job that will please the historian as well as the print connoisseur—and he is well aware that the audience for this reference work is sharply separated when he makes the plea, in the introduction, to historians to read the graphics and to print collectors to read the history. Mr. Mugridge has done such a fine job in presenting the graphics of American Battle Art that we are sorry that he did not receive the traditional credit line on the title page as author. Many a worthy publication is sponsored by our learned institutions but there is always some individual who is responsible for the finished product, whether he be editor, compiler, or writer, and this individual should be allowed to *sign* the work and thus receive due credit.

New York City MARY BARTLETT COWDREY

Conservatism in Early American History. By LEONARD WOODS LABAREE. (New York: New York University Press, 1948. xiii + 182 pages, index. $3.75.)

Being invited by the Chancellor's Committee on the Anson G. Phelps Lectureship to give a series of lectures at New York University, Professor Labaree chose to examine the force of conservatism in the English-speaking colonies of North America during the century preceding the Declaration of Independence. Addressing a general audience, he wisely devoted himself to a constructive presentation of existing knowledge and his own amplifying research rather than to an attempt at a totally new contribution to scholarship. In this well-indexed volume, the six lectures are printed substantially as they were delivered in 1947. Here, Professor Labaree has presented an over-all view of the men and ideas tending to retard the changes taking place in Colonial America.

Against the background of a class-conscious society, with its educational, economic, and religious systems based on special forms of privilege, wealthy conservative leaders, closely interrelated by marriage or social intercourse, are shown dominating Colonial politics in their own class interest. The four most effective bulwarks against radical change in Colonial life are considered to be: the ruling families who dominated the Colonial councils, the landed gentry, the wealthy merchants, and most of the ministers and laymen of the two established churches—Anglican and Puritan or Congregational. (Quakers and Presbyterians are mentioned but incidentally.) The attitude of these groups towards such matters as education, the Great Awakening in religion, and the social and political theories of the time show the conservative in a changing world and new environment clinging tenaciously to the past.

Although Professor Labaree appears to be primarily interested in the role the conservative played on the eve of the American Revolution and the state of mind that led him to choose that rôle, he made no attempt to select only the material necessary for such a study. Instead, he gathered evidences of conservative reaction to numerous other phases of life and culture. This leads one to wonder whether Professor Labaree may not have a larger and more comprehensive work on the conservatives in mind. It is to be hoped that he has, for he is unquestionably the best-qualified scholar to undertake such a study, and may thereby answer some of the questions his present work raises.

Why, for example, was the great conservative majority in America unable to effect a reconciliation with the mother country or prevent the radical minority from committing the country to war? To be convincing, the climate of conservative peril after 1763 needs to be related to the issues with which the conservatives were confronted. As presented by Professor Labaree, the danger to their position came when conservative resistance to the authority of the mother country was used as a boomerang by the less-privileged classes to oppose the authority which conservative leaders had so long maintained in the Colonies. Learning to fear the second as the greater of the two dangers confronting them, conservatives increasingly supported the mother country as the controversy with Great Britain progressed toward Independence. This is undeniably true, but the Stamp Act controversy had taught the conservatives the danger to their position of the levelling spirit in America a full decade before Independence became an issue. Why then did the conservatives continue to work with the liberals and even with the radicals for so long a time thereafter? Professor Labaree gives us no answer, and it is possible that we must look to further study in Colonial politics as well as to England for it. For instance, to what extent did the sympathy of Pitt, his followers and the old Whigs in England—Fox, Burke and others—foster conservative-liberal coöperation in the Colonies to the very threshold of revolution?

Professor Labaree's presentation being general in character, no distinction is made between extreme conservatives who bordered on the reactionary, and moderate conservatives who were often indistinguishable from cautious liberals. It will be necessary to make such a distinction, in the opinion of this reviewer, before any profound study can be made of the rôle played by the conservative on the eve of the American Revolution.

The conservative position was menaced from without by innovations in Britain's colonial policy which threatened to block the evolutionary process of self-government in the Colonies, especially by the measures of the British ministry to force Americans to assume their share of the burden of empire in a more efficient manner. These measures were re-

sisted by the Colonists as violating fundamental American rights. The resulting crises, in which the moderate conservatives participated, crystallized constitutional opposition to the rigid British program of imperial reorganization. If revolution were to be averted, the formulation of a theory of empire was needed which would allow the mother country to move in the direction of empire while the Colonists moved in the opposite direction toward self-government. The most statesman-like solution of that problem came from a moderate American conservative. Joseph Galloway's plan of union in the first Continental Congress, however, came too late. Had the plan been presented before Franklin's letters from England recommending unity of action and the Suffolk Resolves of Massachusetts advocating disobedience to the Coercive Acts precipitated Congress into the hands of the radicals, it might have been adopted. In that case, the next move would have been up to the British. The American colonies might then have been given an enlightened dominion status or, had England declined the plan, many moderate conservatives might have found themselves with the cautious liberals taking the hazardous road to Independence.

The adoption by the Continental Congress of the non-importation, -consumption, and -exportation agreements known as the Association, by placing power in the hands of the radicals, led to the branding of all conservatives who refused to subscribe to these extra-legal measures as Tories. Many moderate conservatives, therefore, were forced into the British ranks who might otherwise have remained neutral. They were thus made to appear as unqualified supporters of the unwise measures of the British government and foes of American liberties—a rôle wholly inconsistent with their honest convictions and past conduct. Even when the persecuted moderate conservatives sanctioned a vigorous military program in order to crush the Revolution, they made common cause with the English only in the means to be used and the immediate object to be gained. They failed to share with the mother country the purpose sought or the ultimate end desired. These Loyalists, of whom Galloway was one, had no idea of surrendering their principles or of becoming disloyal to their conception of American liberties, which they still believed could be protected within the empire. Even in England, Galloway continued trying to effect a satisfactory relationship between the mother country and the Colonies on the basis of a written constitution. In this sense, it is a little confusing to view the *moderate conservatives* as "converts" to unqualified loyalism.

Because his presentation of the climate of conservative opinion is general in character, Professor Labaree arrives at a general conclusion regarding the function of the conservative in society. Positively the conservative, among other things, preserves past values and works to maintain a government based on law and order. Negatively, by "resisting

the process of change and by forcing its advocates to justify their ideas in the minds of a larger segment of the public, the conservative . . . contributes unintentionally . . . to the successful accomplishment of a long-range transformation." Had the scope of Professor Labaree's work allowed him to stress the rôle that the *moderate conservative* plays, he might have brought out an extremely important positive function, namely, that by making timely adjustments in order to keep those long-range transformations in evolutionary channels rather than allow them to become diverted to revolutionary ones, the moderate conservative more nearly approximates the goal toward which civilization is striving. In the troubled condition of the world today, who would deliberately choose the revolutionary as compared with the evolutionary process of change?

In succumbing to the temptation to clarify questions which refused to be brushed aside, this review stands as a testimonial to the excellence of Professor Labaree's work, for the highest type of writing is the one that is thought-provoking, and surely Professor Labaree's is all of that. He has re-opened a long-neglected field of history, has handled objectively and with skill many of the deep-lying factors and forces which make the American Revolution such a complex movement. Students as well as scholars and the general public will want to read and possess this broadly human study.

The New-York Historical Society E. Marie Becker

The Mystery of "A Public Man"—A Historical Detective Story. By Frank Maloy Anderson. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948. 256 pages, biblio., reprint of "The Diary of a Public Man," index. $3.75.)

The Diary of A Public Man: An Intimate View of the National Administration December 28, 1860 to March 15, 1861 and A Page of Political Correspondence Stanton to Buchanan. Prefatory Notes by F. Lauriston Bullard. Foreword by Carl Sandburg. (Chicago: Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, 1945. xi + 117 pages, illus., biblio. Boxed, $10.00.)

[*Editor to Stuyvesant Fish, Dec. 8, 1948:*] Apropos of our early-1946 correspondence regarding *The Diary of A Public Man* . . . I have just received an advance copy of Frank Maloy Anderson's *The Mystery of "A Public Man"—A Historical Detective Story*. It's a lulu of a story and in true who-dunit fashion keeps you in suspense till the last chapter, presenting a whole bevy of suspects (but no Adams or Fish) and withholding the final solution to the end. Not even the dust jacket gives the secret away. In addition, it's a fine object lesson in applied historical method. Far be it from me to spoil your enjoyment of it by telling you the plot, but I'm sure you will enjoy reading it. . . .

[*Stuyvesant Fish to the Editor, Jan. 3, 1949:*] . . . Professor Anderson's book amused and interested me much but I don't quite follow his deductions. I think he assumes too much for his candidate to the position of being the Public Man. I could advance a number of persons that I think would be equally possible.

The most possible of all is, I think, my grandfather, Hamilton Fish, except for one thing, that he certainly didn't write the Public Man. It has a few of his characteristics in it but very little of his style of writing. He might have told of his experiences from 1848 to 1861 to Grantland Rice or somebody else who wrote the text, part of which, particularly the French quotations, sort of smell of my grandfather. The extreme secrecy observed in the printing of the papers might have been due to the fact that the information was given by my grandfather who in 1879 had just ceased to be Secretary of State under Grant.

I think all told I dug up about five possible suspects, none of which was the one given by Anderson. They were men of definitely more prominence. In every case my grandfather fits into the picture. He was in Washington in 1848. He had a cousin, Charles Valentine Morris who had a shrew of a grandmother. He met Lincoln on the 20th of February in New York, had quite a talk with him and made an appointment to see him a few days later in Washington where he had two interviews with Lincoln. He stayed on in Washington from about the 1st of March until Sumter was fired on, endeavoring to dissuade his numerous Southern friends from joining in the secession movement. I have no evidence that he knew Douglas particularly well though he did know Seward and Sumner and numerous other members of Lincoln's political family.

As regards Mr. Anderson, I would say that his detective story lacks definite proof and that we are right back at the beginning, not knowing who P.M., if he existed, was. Perhaps he was just a child of Rice's imagination and a piece of fiction, though he has a certain smell of realism.

[*Signed*] S Fish

Father Knickerbocker Rebels: New York City during the Revolution. By Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. xv + 308 pages, illus., index. $4.50.)

The various facets of the political and military history of New York City during the period of the American Revolution have been explored in many books, monographs, and dissertations. In 1879, almost a century after it had been written, The New-York Historical Society published Judge Thomas Jones' provocative and fascinating loyalist *History of New York during the Revolutionary War;* in 1929 Charles Scribner's Sons published William Cortez Abbott's *New York in the American Revolution;* and in 1931 Columbia University Press came forth with

Oscar T. Barck's scholarly *New York City during the War for Independence*. In addition to these works covering the over-all picture of the city's history, there have also appeared valuable studies of political thought and of the military campaigns—especially that of 1776.

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, author of *The Puritan Oligarchy*, *The Old South*, and *The Founding of American Civilization*, has added *Father Knickerbocker Rebels* to the roster of books dealing with this interesting period of New York history. It is a good book. Delving deeply into contemporary manuscripts, newspapers, and published source material, Wertenbaker has fashioned a vivid and enjoyable story: the story of eighteen years of everyday life, unrest, rebellion, war, and military occupation in New York City between November 1765 and November 1783. The book holds one's interest from cover to cover. It is a well-written narrative of the strife-torn history of the little metropolis, then at the south tip of Manhattan Island, from the time the hated Stamp Act was scheduled to go into effect to the time when the British garrison cantoned within the New York lines withdrew in 1783 with thousands of disillusioned and bitter loyalists who sailed for places of exile in Europe, in the West Indies, and in other areas of the British North American continent.

The author opens his work with a chapter on "Liberty Assailed" and a study of the physical appearance of the city during this period, with a picture of the social and political life, the governors, the politicians, the merchant-aristocracy, and the trades-people. He writes of the unrest and the troubles which grew until the fateful year of 1775 when war came and New Yorkers, torn between their allegiance to the King and their allegiance to America and the Revolutionary congresses, prepared for the armed struggle for possession of the city which they were certain would come to the Hudson Valley as soon as Great Britain gathered her ships and armies.

New York from 1765 to 1783, Wertenbaker says, was two New Yorks —the first, Revolutionary New York, under Royal administration and later under the usurped legislative authority of the extra-legal committees and congresses, in which unrest and rebellion were nurtured. It was the New York of the Stamp Act troubles, the Liberty Poles, the Sons of Liberty, the opposition to British imperial policy, and the military occupation by the American Army. The second New York, after September 1776, was Loyalist New York: the city of Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir Guy Carleton; the Headquarters city of the British Army in North America, and, for seven years, a Tory haven until the evacuation.

To understand the American Revolution, as Wertenbaker makes plain, one must know the rôle played by New York City, for it was here that British military policy was formulated by the Commanders-in-Chief,

and from here departed many of the naval expeditions to other areas of conflict. Interwoven through the fabric of the military campaigns, Wertenbaker has presented life in the city as viewed by the people who lived there: the story of their activities, their sufferings, the plots, the hatreds, the terror, the confusion, the corruption, and the suspicions. Civilian life in the city throughout the war, aside from military activity, went on much as usual. Fuel was scarce, provisions were dear, robberies were frequent, but people still thronged the taverns and shops, and attended the races, concerts, balls, and the theater.

One of the author's most succinct chapters deals with "Corruption and Cruelty" in New York during the British occupation. Wertenbaker (page 158) lays the blame for much of the corruption upon the shoulders of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton, who made many of the appointments of barrack-masters who fleeced owners of woodlands and of the quartermasters and commissaries who became rich on money they filched from the Government by fake vouchers. The loyalists complained "that the cause for which they had sacrificed so much, and upon which their all was staked, had been sacrificed to the avarice of a group of unprincipled officials" (pages 161–62).

Wertenbaker makes a strong point of the fact that the loyalists expected the restoration of civil government in the city after its capture by the British Army in 1776, but this, in spite of their supplications to the military authorities, never came to be. Though some civil officials were appointed, they were officials in name only and they remained without authority. Howe and Clinton ignored the restoration of civil government, and by the time Carleton—who was sympathetic to the loyalists—appeared on the scene the remaining months of British occupation were numbered. The author describes Sir Henry Clinton as a man possessing a "swollen ego" who revelled in being "the dictator of New York." Clinton, he writes (pages 157–58), "asked for no advice in planning his campaigns and did not welcome it when volunteered; he gloried in being the one great luminary in the social life of the city, without whom no celebration, no dinner, no parade, no ball was a success. Whatever excuse he made for not reestablishing civil government, one suspects that his reluctance to part with power was not the least of his motives."

Again (page 247): "As a tactitian Clinton showed great ability, but he was a very poor strategist. Forever overestimating the strength of the forces opposed to him, afraid to take chances, insisting upon leaving thousands of troops to defend the almost impregnable Manhattan at the very time that he was attacking the only force which could threaten it, unwilling to face Washington save on grounds of his own choosing, quarreling with those with whom he should have cooperated, he was in no small degree responsible for the British failures in America."

And so, the history goes on: the story of the prisons and the prison-ships, the loyalists, the raids, whale-boat warfare, and the final hopeless months when the Americans who had fought for their King faced the grim realization that they would have to leave their native land.

A few errors are observed, some probably due to faulty proofreading. For example, Wertenbaker errs in stating (page 87) that HMS *Phoenix* carried 44 guns and HMS *Rose* 28 guns in July 1776. At that time the *Phoenix* carried 40 guns and the *Rose* 20 guns. He errs in stating (page 108) that the British forced the Hudson River passage for the second time on October 8, 1776. It was October 9th. He errs in stating (page 129) that Sir William Howe retreated from New Brunswick on July 19, 1777. Howe evacuated New Brunswick with the major portion of his army on June 22, 1777. He errs in stating (page 225) that the second commandant of the Queen's Rangers was "Major Wernyss." His name was Weymss (Wemys). He errs in stating (page 225) that John Graves Simcoe belonged to the "41st Infantry" at the time of his assignment to the command of the Queen's Rangers in October 1777. There was no such designation as the "41st Infantry" in the British Army at the time of the American Revolution. It should be the 41st Regiment of Foot (which did not serve in America during the struggle). Furthermore, Simcoe did not even belong to the 41st Regiment at that time, but to the 40th Regiment. He errs in calling (page 91) the Narrows ferry "Denyee's Ferry." It should be Denyse's Ferry. He errs in stating (page 192) that Major-General Benedict Arnold received the news of André's capture on September 21, 1780. Arnold heard of the seizure of his late companion on September 25th. Wertenbaker repeats (page 190) the oft-told tale that "Colonel Williams of the 80th Regiment" gave a dinner in 1780 at which André was toasted. The only trouble with this story is that there was no "Colonel Williams" connected with the regiment at that time. The colonel-commandant was Sir William Erskine and the second-in-command, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Dundas (British *Army List*, 1780).

However, in a book covering so great a period of time, it is only human for a few errors to appear, and the errors thus ascertained constitute an infinitesimal fraction of the total of dates, facts, and figures which jam-pack this interesting treatise. The footnotes are grouped in twenty-four pages at the end of the volume. It is illustrated with examples of the work of such well-known delineators of the Colonial and Revolutionary scene as Howard Pyle, F. C. Yohn, John Ward Dunsmore, and Harry A. Ogden, together with reproductions of broadsides, manuscripts, caricatures, portraits, maps, and drawings.

The New-York Historical Society RICHARD J. KOKE

American Silversmiths and Their Marks III. By STEPHEN G. C. ENSKO. (New York: Robert Ensko, Inc., 1948. 285 pages, biblio., illus., maps. $15.00.)

This eagerly awaited new edition of Stephen G. C. Ensko's work on American silver proves to have been well worth the waiting. Mr. Ensko's father, the late Robert Ensko, had published his *Makers of Early American Silver* in 1915, and in 1927 the son brought forth the first edition of the present work, followed ten years later by *American Silversmiths and Their Marks II.* The intervening years have been used to good account to further the knowledge of silversmiths, their life and work, in so far as patient research has been able to reconstruct it. The present (third) edition not only amplifies and corrects the listings of the earlier editions but adds so much new material as to make of it practically a new work.

An introduction by Charles Messer Stowe brings out the idea that the craft of silversmithing was an expression of the American way of life, or the American ethos, as he calls it. Changes in our life, such as the shift in New York from Dutch to English control, were soon reflected in the style of silver and other articles. This development of style is illustrated in the main body of the book by the plates which trace the stylistic changes in different articles of silver from 1650 to 1850.

The main body of the book is divided into three chapters: the first containing an alphabetical list of American silversmiths, 1650–1850, with working dates and life spans where known, and other pertinent biographical data.

Chapter II consists of some 2,500 marks of silversmiths alphabetically arranged. The drawings from rubbings of actual marks are a great help in identifying marks of actual pieces. However, this reviewer feels that Chapters I and II might well have been combined so that biographical data and marks would be in one place.

Chapter III presents the locations of silversmiths' shops in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, with maps of these cities showing these locations as far as could be determined. Helen Burr Smith is responsible for this chapter and did extensive research into old wills and newspapers to establish sites. The lack of any street numbers in the earlier years, and eccentric systems of numbering later, made this a difficult job.

The usefulness of this volume is further enhanced by a very complete bibliography of the subject from 1832 to 1948. It is altogether a fine piece of work, in its research, in its presentation, and in its bookmaking—an essential reference work—the price of which (take heed!) has already increased by 50% since publication.

The New-York Historical Society CAROLYN SCOON

First First Ladies 1789–1865: A Study of the Wives of the Early Presidents. By MARY ORMSBEE WHITTON. (New York: Hastings House, 1948. x — 341 pages, illus., appendix, biblio. $5.00.)

Mrs. Whitton writes a spirited account of early Presidential wives, daughters, nieces, and even daughters-in-law—for not all the young women who trustingly married the obscure lawyers and soldiers of their choice lived to share the moment of ultimate triumph and become first ladies in the strictest sense.

The volume extends from plain Martha Washington (happily appearing in a more youthful version than the familiar Gilbert Stuart) to the controversial Mary Lincoln. Inevitably the most interesting studies are those of the lesser-known figures, in many cases hardly less neglected than the Presidents they represent. What ordinary citizen indeed has more than a vague mental picture of the men, not to mention the women, who occupied the White House from the close of the colorful Jacksonian era to the outbreak of open war between the States at Fort Sumter?

In short, the author might have done well to confine her efforts to first ladies about whom little or nothing has hitherto been written. Her treatment of Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, and Dolly Madison cannot help but seem superficial when full-length biographies have already covered the same ground thoroughly and all three women have long since become fixtures in popular American history. These early chapters nurture the suspicion that the rest of the book will prove as inadequate, an impression the more unfortunate since Mrs. Whitton appears to have unearthed quantities of new information by faithfully combing the requisite genealogies, family letters, diaries, memoirs, and contemporary newspaper accounts in The New-York Historical Society and similar respositories.

A second suspicion—that the author romanticizes rather too extravagantly in the many instances where little authentic material is available—probably does not matter. Mrs. Whitton is writing, not for the careful historian, but for those women who—having seen the famous gowns that "continue," in the language of the book's jacket, "to fascinate visitors to the Smithsonian Institution"—are curious about the first ladies who wore them. If such curiosity may be expected to survive the return home after the rigors of further Washington sightseeing, *First First Ladies* should be welcomed with delight.

Washington, D. C. ELIZABETH MARTING

Fernando Wood of New York. By Samuel Augustus Pleasants. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. 216 pages, biblio., index. $3.00.)

Fernando Wood was a colorful character who experienced a turbulent career as a New York politician in the critical years preceding, during and after the Civil War. In *Fernando Wood of New York,* a first biography of him, Samuel Augustus Pleasants has attempted to evaluate him and his role in American history.

Beginning his adult life in a small grocery business near the waterfront, Fernando Wood soon learned how to increase his resources in the shipping trade when New York was booming as an outstanding commercial center. His ships took advantage of the discovery of gold in California and he realized enormous profits in 1849.

His absorbing interest led him to join Tammany Hall in 1836 where he became a vocal member and was elected a United States Congressman in 1841, serving only one term. He was usually in verbal clashes with his opponents, and his political and business actions were often questioned or considered not too honest. As his political importance and power grew, there were more occasions of disagreement, even violence between political factions under his leadership.

Wood became Mayor of New York in 1855 and served two terms as an organization man. He formed his own organization in 1859 known as Mozart Hall, battling Tammany Hall for power in the Democratic Party, and he won the mayoralty again for a term in 1860–62. Subsequently Wood served for many years in the United States House of Representatives and became known as the "Father of the House."

Mr. Pleasants, the author, seems to agree that Wood was a corrupt politician but credits him with "administrative ideas, political technique, social and political ideas and courage in dealing with the State legislature." This last refers to Wood's determined battle for home rule; he even proposed a "free city."

Certainly Fernando Wood was a man of extraordinary talents who lived in an exciting period of national history, and yet this biography of him is neither lively nor absorbing. The author has carefully documented his statements, and facts are abundant, but the presentation is purely objective. The book is an accurate political biography, not a personal biography.

Municipal Reference Library Rebecca B. Rankin

American Children Through Their Books 1700–1835. By Monica Kiefer; foreword by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. (Phila.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948. 248 pages, biblio., index, illus. $3.50.)

This illuminating study of the status of children in America during the period from 1700 to 1835 is based on juvenile literature of that era. It traces the evolution of the child from the tensions and stresses of an age of stern pietism in its "War With the Devil," to his emergence as an individual to be recognized as a member of the family, with rights and privileges as such. The psychology of fear was the vehicle used to keep little minds in obedience and warn them to shun all forms of innocent diversion as "worldly." To impress this fear, hymns were taught, of which this is an example:

Have we not heard what dreadful plagues
Are threatened by the Lord,
To him that breaks his Father's law,
Or mocks his Mother's word?

What heavy guilt upon him lies!
How cursed is his name!
The ravens shall pick out his eyes,
And eagles eat the same.

At the close of the American Revolution the wave of austere pietism had been broken and a less fearsome view of life had come to the new nation. Running the whole gamut of religion, manners and morals, education, health and recreation, one sees in the analysis of authentic material a bridge between the austerity of that early age and the beginning of a more diversified system of education. The writings of such men as Benjamin Rush, Anthony Benezet, and Benjamin Franklin with his "boundless range of intelligence" played no small part in bringing about a liberalizing and broadening of the scope of education.

American Children Through Their Books reveals the religious and cultural ideals that were to permeate the minds and actions of succeeding generations, the efforts of a pioneer people to rear their children in the traditions of their European background, the establishment of schools, and the obstacles which retarded the formal practice of medicine. A major conclusion is that the era of the American Revolution marked a changed attitude on the part of parents and guardians. Instead of "little men and women," children were being considered as immature human beings with special needs and definite rights—intellectually, socially, and spiritually, in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness.

This treatise is the first effort, involving vast study and research, to interpret in successive steps the education of children of the period covered, through their "little books," leading to the fruition of the visions

of the founding fathers in the building of a great nation. There is a splendid bibliography, in many respects one of the most valuable features of the book, and the study covers the famous Rosenbach Collection of more than 1000 volumes, of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

Wallingford, Pa. ELSIE WALKER BUTTERWORTH

The Greater City: New York, 1898–1948. Edited by ALLAN NEVINS and JOHN A. KROUT. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. vi + 260 pages, illus. $3.00.)

Mayor William O'Dwyer and his Mayor's Committee for the Commemoration of the Golden Anniversary of The City of New York, with Grover A.Whalen as Chairman, commissioned Professors Allan Nevins and John A. Krout of Columbia University to write a history of the city for its celebration in 1948.

Professor Nevins in his usual easy-flowing style sets the pace in *The Greater City, New York, 1898–1948*, published by Columbia University Press, a lively little volume narrating the progress of our city in its most recent fifty years. His introductory section gives a general view and it is followed by Professor Krout's "Framing of the Charter"; a third section by Carl Carmer relates the political developments as characterized by the mayors "From Van Wyck to O'Dwyer," while Thomas C. Cochran has summarized the city's economic advances in "The City's Business"; and Margaret Clapp, a Pulitzer Prize Winner as is Allan Nevins, evaluates the city's social and cultural advances.

A volume of 250 pages, it is profusely illustrated with 150 photographs scattered throughout the text, some of 50 years ago and more of the present day. We note that The New-York Historical Society is credited as owner of many of the photographs of New York of 1898. Bound in blue cloth, lettered in gold and with the insigna of the Golden Anniversary, a golden wedding ring encircling the five boroughs which form Greater New York, it makes an attractive book appropriate to the occasion.

Professor Nevins in his section points out a few of the most significant changes in the past half century which he terms as revolutionary: first, the city's growth, unceasing and sometimes titanic, controlled by plan; second, the greatly enhanced part played by women in the city's life; and third, the enormously enhanced attention paid to social welfare measures.

Everyone who reads this short history of Greater New York will enjoy it and be impressed with the strides that the city has made in fifty years. Its five distinguished contributors have produced a fascinating narrative suitable for the Golden Jubilee.

Municipal Reference Library, New York City REBECCA B. RANKIN

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

January 6: High School Loan Exhibition installed in Bryant High School, Long Island City.

January 11: Illustrated lecture for members and friends by George N. Kates, Curator of Oriental Art, the Brooklyn Museum, on "Clipper Ship Chinoiserie," early adventure in the China trade and a display of objects relating to the subject.

January 12: Meeting of the New York League of Women Voters.

January 22: Meeting of the New York Folklore Society, papers by A. A. Hartwell, Mrs. Maria Leach, Edith Allaire, Ralph Childs and Dr. M. Jagendorf.

January 28: Meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America; papers by Raymond W. Adams, Lois Mulhearn, David S. Edelstein, and Col. Ralph H. Isham. Opening of the special exhibition: EARLY AMERICAN POETRY, and displays of a portion of Col. Isham's Boswell Papers, of books printed by Joel Munsell, and of Pownall's *Topographical Description of North America.*

January 29: Meeting of the Oberlin Women's Club.

February 1: Lecture for members and friends by Dr. Louis C. Jones, Director of The New York State Historical Association, on "Ghosties and Ghoulies."

February 15: Visit by students of St. John's University class in "The Library in Contemporary Society," with accounts of the Society and its collections by Miss Barck and Mr. Wall.

February 16: Opening of the Special Exhibition: 300 YEARS OF NEW YORK IN WATERCOLOR, to continue through May 8th.

February 17: Group Tour of the Museum by the Women's Club of Upper Montclair.

February 24: High School Loan Exhibition installed in Thomas Jefferson High School, Brooklyn.

March 1: Lecture for members and friends by Mrs. Ethel Brant Monture, descendant of Chief Joseph Brant, in costume on "The Indian in the 20th Century," and a display of books, prints, and artifacts pertaining to Indians.

March 5: High School History Program: "The Great California Gold Rush," illustrated talk by Miss Pless and a feature film: "Brigham Young." Group tour of the Museum by the Workers Fellowship of the Society for Ethical Culture.

March 17: Meeting of the New York Library Club.

March 19: School Art League Program, with a showing of the film: "18th-Century Life in Williamsburg, Virginia."

March 24: High School Loan Exhibition installed in Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn.

March 26: School Art League Program, with an illustrated talk on "Men and Ships of the American Navy," by Mr. Wall and a showing of the film: "Coast Guard Academy."
March 29: Meeting of the New York League of Women Voters.

Dr. Beekman and Mr. Vail attended with representatives of civic and art organizations of the city several meetings called by The Greater New York Civic Center Association during the fall and winter and lent the weight of this Society to a movement which culminated in authorization by the Board of Estimate for greatly needed restoration work to the exterior of City Hall. This landmark, completed in 1819 from plans drawn by John McComb which are now in the archives of the Society, has suffered great deterioration by the weather, pieces of masonry having actually fallen off the structure.

Mr. Marshall Bush, a student from Juilliard School of Music, was engaged by the Society to continue the organ music programs formerly conducted by Mr. Nutzhorn. Mr. Bush may be heard weekly on Sunday afternoons through May 29th between 3:30 and 4:45 at the console in our Auditorium.

Mr. Wayne Andrews, Curator of Manuscripts, lectured before the New York Chapter of The Society of Architectural Historians at Hunter College on February 11th on the subject: "Romantic New York: the Architects and Architecture of Manhattan, 1824–1860."

Four new members joined the staff of the Society since January 1st, filling positions whose vacancies (in some cases for several years) had hampered the Society in performing its vital library services. They are: Miss Geraldine Beard, Chief of the Reading Room; Mr. Wilmer Leech, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts, who comes to us with many years of experience from the New York Public Library; Mrs. Robert Obrecht, and Miss Evelyn Diggs, both clerical assistants in the Catalogue Department.

Number III of the Society's Picture Series, comprising 61 illustrations and a page of text on the *Statuette Groups of John Rogers* was recently published and is now on sale at the Information Desk. Similar to the others in the series, the pictures and text are on loose sheets contained in an envelope, and sell for 10 cents.

Among future events in store for members and their friends are a talk on the "History and Development of the F. B. I." by Edward Scheidt, Special Agent in Charge of the New York City office of the F. B. I., on Tuesday, April 5th; a lecture by Carl Guthe, Director of the New York State Museum, on Tuesday, May 3rd, on "The History of the American Indian as Revealed through Archaeology"; and the Annual Strawberry Festival on Monday afternoon, June 6th, when Carl Carmer will present his "Cavalcade of American Legend."

STAFF REORGANIZATION

In common with most other similar organizations, this Society is faced with the imperative need for economy and so the Board of Trustees has found it necessary to cut certain expenditures out of this year's budget and to abolish five staff positions, as follows: Attorney, Accessionist, Advisory Curator of American Art, Curator of Paintings and Sculpture, and Curator of Photographs.

This does not mean a change in the policy of the Society towards the collecting, exhibiting, and scholarly use of materials in the fields represented by the abolished positions but simply a shifting of duties to other competent shoulders. The work of the Attorney will be handled by the Committee on Law of the Board of Trustees; that of the Curator of Paintings and Sculpture has been taken over by the Curator of the Museum and his specially trained assistants; and the remaining duties have been absorbed by other members of the staff as of the beginning of this year. The holders of the last two positions on the above list were given over a month's notice that their positions would be abolished at the end of last year and were given separation pay equal to half of their annual salaries so that they would have ample time to look for new positions. It is a satisfaction to be able to report that Mr. Harold F. Nutzhorn, former Curator of Photographs, has secured a position as Reference Librarian for the International Broadcasting Division of the State Department, and that Mr. Donald A. Shelley, former Curator of Paintings and Sculpture, is now curator of the Colonel Edgar W. Garbisch private collection of American primitives of folk art.

This Society has, since its foundation, collected library, museum, and art materials relating to American history and has made these materials freely available to the public and to scholars in its reading rooms and galleries through the aid of competently trained specialists. This collecting policy and service to the public will be continued without change in spite of the fact that measures of economy have made it necessary to eliminate certain positions.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

"I am writing a book to be entitled *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind*. It is a study of the cultural, historical, and literary aspects of the lecture system in our country from 1830 to 1860. I would be indebted to any of your readers who would let me know if a lyceum existed in their locality before 1860 and, perhaps, where I might write to secure records of the lyceum if it did exist."

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

[*Signed*] Carl Bode
Professor of English

RECENT ACCESSIONS

MEDAL of the Libby Prison War Museum, Chicago, 1893, with a history on the reverse of the medal of the famous Civil War prison while it stood in Richmond, Virginia. *Gift of Dr. Jerome Alexander.*

Shoe buckles worn by Rufus King, great-great-great grandfather of the donor, while serving as Ambassador to the Court of St. James, London. *Gift of Mrs. Carroll Badeau.*

Manuscript broadsheet: Address to Queen Anne, by the Lieutenant Governor, Council and General Assembly of the Province of New York, dated New York, June 24, 1709, thanking her for the measures taken for the reduction of Canada and for the stores of war sent by her for the security of New York and assuring her of New York's support in the enterprise. Signed by Richard Ingoldesby, the Lieutenant Governor; Gerardus Beekman, President of the Council; and nineteen members of the Council and Assembly. *Gift of the Beekman Family Association.*

Autographed photograph of Reginald W. Rives standing beside the Holland House-to-Ardsley coach "Pioneer," *c.* 1910; photograph of Harris Fahnestock in coaching habit. *Gift of Mr. Charles E. Berckmann.*

Pair of wooden ice skates, 19th-century, which belonged to the donor's grandfather, Jeremiah Bogardus (1800–1876) of Athens, Greene County, New York, and used on Lakes Hollister and Greene about five miles west of the Hudson River. *Gift of Captain J. H. Bogardus.*

Two quilts probably made by Laurana R. North, great-grandmother of the donors. *Gift of Mr. William Russell Bogert and his sister, Helen North (Bogert) Parmele.*

Engraving by Saint-Mémin of John Bullus (1776–1818), grandfather of Albert Bullus; photograph of painting by Saint-Mémin of Mrs. John Bullus; letters addressed to Oscar Bullus (1800–1871), great-uncle of Albert Bullus, from navy officers and various heads of Federal departments, 1822–66, relating to his activities in the Navy; collection of letters and papers relating to various other members of the Bullus family, 1806–77. *Gift of Mrs. Albert Bullus.*

Drawing awards (two), silver, awarded by the National Academy of Design to Robert M. Pratt, one of which is dated 1830. *Gift of Mrs. E. W. Cheney.*

Soldier's mirror which was used by Josiah C. Brownell during the Civil War. *Gift of Miss Dorothy Cocks.*

Five documents relating to Robert Bayard: commission as Lieutenant in 80th Regiment, signed by George II, December 26, 1757; commission as a major, 60th or Royal American Regiment, October 4, 1765; certificate of appointment as Collector of Customs at Philadelphia, February 7, 1772; summons dated July 19, 1776, to appear before a committee appointed by the New York Provincial Congress and there to show cause

Robert Bayard Esquire

SIR,

BY virtue of the authority vested in us by certain Resolutions of the Congress of the colony of New-York, of the *Fifth* — day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1776, reciting, That whereas there are in this colony, divers persons, who, by reason of their holding offices from the King of Great-Britain; from their having neglected or refused to associate with their fellow citizens for the defence of their common rights; from their having never manifested by their conduct, a zeal for, and an attachment to the American cause; or from their having maintained an equivocal neutrality, have been considered by their countrymen in a suspicious light; whereby it hath become necessary, as well for the safety, as for the satisfaction of the people, who, in times so dangerous and critical, are naturally led to consider those as their enemies, who with-hold from them their aid and influence; that certain persons, in the said Resolutions, named (*of whom you are one*) who are generally supposed to come under the above description, should be summoned by a certain Committee, to shew cause, if any they have, why they should be considered as friends to the American cause, and as of the number of those who are ready to risque their lives and fortunes in defence of the rights and liberties of America, against the usurpation, unjust claims and cruel oppressions of the British Parliament; which rights and liberties, and which unjust claims and cruel oppressions, are specified and stated in divers Addresses, Petitions and Remonstrances of the present and late Continental Congresses; and directing certain proceedings in the said Resolutions specified, to be by the said Committee had against such of the said persons as the said Committee shall not adjudge and determine to be friends to the American cause. WE DO THEREFORE, in pursuance of the said Resolutions, summon you to appear before us, at *the City Hall in New-York on Monday the twenty first* day of *June Instant* at *Ten* o'clock, in the *fore* noon, of the said day, TO SHEW CAUSE, (if any you have) why you should be considered as a friend to the American cause, and of the number of those who are ready to risque their lives and fortunes in defence of the rights and liberties of America, against the usurpation, unjust claims and cruel oppressions of the British Parliament; which rights and liberties, and which unjust claims, and cruel oppressions, are, as aforesaid, specified and stated in divers Addresses, Petitions and Resolutions of the present and late Continental Congresses. *Dated this nineteenth day of June 1776.*

Jeremiah Wool
Thos Tredwell
Jos Haliock
Isaac Roosevelt
John Ry
Thos Randall

To Robert Bayard Esquire
Flushing
New York

SUMMONS TO ROBERT BAYARD, JUNE 19, 1776

Gift of Mrs. W. Bayard Cutting, 1948

why he should be considered a friend to the American Cause, signed: Gouv[erneur] Morris, Jn° Sloss Hobart, Phil. Livingston, Joseph Hallett, Leonard Gansevoort, John Jay, Lewis Graham, Thomas Tredwell, Thos. Randall; and commission (with seal) as Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, New York, December 6, 1776. *Gift of Mrs. W. Bayard Cutting.*

Seven maps which belonged to his father and his grandfather, three of the United States and four of The Bronx and Westchester County. *Gift of Brigadier General John Ross Delafield.*

Oil painting of a *Landscape, Hudson River* by George Harvey (*c.* 1800–1876). *Gift of Mr. Charles A. Dunlap.*

Five medals commemorating the opening of the Holland Tunnel (1927), the Bayonne Bridge (1931), and the George Washington Bridge (1931). *Gift of Mr. Elisha Dyer.*

Topographical map of the City and County of New York, 1836. *Gift of Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick.*

St. Thomas Register, amateur journal published at Flushing, L. I., by R. W. Gilder, father of the donor, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1856; *The Leaflet*, edited by R. W. Gilder and two friends and published at Bordentown, N. Y., Vol. 1, Nos. 2–16, July 30–Nov. 5, 1860; *The Chimney Seat*, Nos. 1–2, Dec. 1889 and Dec. 1890 (all published), an amateur journal published for the benefit of the Washington Arch fund by the donor and two friends, all sons of gentlemen on the staff of the *Century Magazine;* six volumes of poems by Leonard Bacon, twenty-seven pamphlets, broadside, three engravings and other items of historical interest. *Gift of Mr. Rodman Gilder.*

Picture of the residence of John Lorimer Graham (grandfather of the donor), St. Mark's Place, New York City, 1845. *Gift of Mr. Clinton Graham.*

Oil painting of the *Wasp and Frolic* by Thomas Birch. *Gift of Mr. Henry O. Havemeyer.*

Oil portrait of the donor by Theobald Chartran (1849–1907), painted in New York, 1901; bronze relief placque of the donor by J. Q. A. Ward (1830–1910), cast in 1895; wedgewood plates (six), with portraits of Lincoln, Sheridan, Sherman, William Cullen Bryant, and Washington (two). *Gift of Mr. James Hazen Hyde.*

Armine and Elvira, by the English poet and divine, Edmund Cartwright, Philadelphia, re-printed by James Humphreys, Jr., 1784; *Statistical Account of the County of Middlesex in Connecticut*, by David B. Field, Middletown, 1819. *Gift of Mr. Elmer T. Hutchinson.*

Certificate of membership of Isaac Vosburgh in the Christian Mutual Benefit Association of Albany, 1846; indenture for certain lands in Albany, 1824. *Gift of Mr. John V. Irwin.*

Silk kerchief with the seals of the forty-eight States. *Gift of Mrs. Bella C. Landauer.*

Eleven volumes and five pamphlets, all relating to the U. S. Navy. *Gift of Miss Charlotte H. Meade.*

Gloves worn by Thomas Jonathan ("Stonewall") Jackson (1824–1863), famous Confederate Civil War general, grandfather of the donor. *Gift of Mrs. Randolph Preston, through Miss Désirée Franklin.*

Miniature on ivory of the *Honorable Alfred Anderson Smith* (1808–1845), Comptroller of the City of New York, 1842. *Gift of Mrs. Julia Dickson Smith Rhodes.*

Oil portrait of *George Gunton* (*c.* 1850–1919), father of Mrs. Royston, by Austa Densmore Sturdevant. The subject was founder and President of an Institute of Economics in New York City and publisher of *Gunton's Magazine. Gift of Mrs. Louise Gunton Royston and her nephew Mr. Matthew Gunton.*

Brooch with tinted photographs of Arthur F. Schermerhorn (1860–1933) and Amy Elizabeth Schermerhorn (1861–1933), brother and sister of the donor; opera glass which came from David Grim (1737–1826), through his son Peter Grim, father of Mrs. George S. Schermerhorn, Sr. *Gift of Major E. Gibert Schermerhorn.*

Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, by Henry Youle Hind, London, 1860 (2 volumes). *Gift of Mr. Thomas W. Streeter.*

Piece of ticker tape which announced the suspension of the gold standard in England. *Gift of Mr. John M. Willard.*

John W. Francis, *Old New York*, extra-illustrated and extended to thirteen volumes (described in more detail elsewhere in the *Quarterly*); manuscripts relating to the expedition against the French in Canada in 1709: Report of Colonel Francis Nicholson and Colonel Samuel Vetch to the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, dated New York, June 28, 1709, giving a detailed account of their proceedings since their departure from England, March 11, 1709; letter from the captain of H.M.S. *Dragon*, dated April 13, 1709, to Colonels Vetch and Nicholson explaining the causes of their being landed at Boston rather than New York; contemporary copy signed by Colonel Vetch of letters and instructions sent by him, in April and May, 1709, to the governors of the several Colonies; letter from Colonel Nicholson to the Earl of Sunderland, dated New York, July 3, 1709, relating to the preparations for the expedition and enclosure six sent with the above letter. *Gift of Mr. Lucius Wilmerding.*

Ten photographs of the J. J. Audubon family; oil painting of *Erie Canal Scene*, 1884, pencil drawing of *Hay Boats, Lake Huron*, 1851, watercolors of *Harlem River*, 1866, *Arnold's Falls on the Wallkill, Dashville, N. Y.*, 1854, *The Old Cromwell Farm House*, 1855 (two), *Pelham Priory, Westchester, N. Y.*, 1854, *Steinways, Long Island*, 1891, all done by William R. Miller. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

MEMBERS, on their election, pay ten dollars as dues, and thereafter on the first day of January each year a like amount, or a life-membership fee of one hundred dollars in lieu of all other dues and fees. The contribution of one thousand dollars to the funds of the Society entitles the donor to be elected a Fellow for life. The contribution of five thousand dollars entitles the donor to be elected a Patron of the Society in perpetuity.

Members have the privilege of attending and of inviting guests to all the lectures and other functions of the Society, and they will receive *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly* and its *Annual Report*.

Application for membership may be made on the following detachable form (or on a separate printed form which will be provided on request) and submitted to: Secretary, The New-York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York 24, New York.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

I herewith present my application for membership in the Society:

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Business or profession .....

Enclosed is my check to be used in payment of membership fee as indicated below, when I am elected:

..... Annual $10 ..... Fellow $1000

..... Life $100 ..... Patron $5000

I have the pleasure of referring to the following members of the Society with whom I am acquainted:

.....

.....

.....

[If you wish to state any special historical interests that you may have, please do so.]

Date .....

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to "THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY," *founded in the year 1804 and incorporated in the year 1809, the sum of* .....*Dollars.*

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CENTRAL PARK WEST & 77TH STREET

FOUNDED 1804

HOURS

THE LIBRARY

Open daily except Sundays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.
Holidays: 1 to 5 P.M.

THE ART GALLERIES AND MUSEUM

Open free to the public daily except Mondays,
from 1 to 5 P.M.
Saturdays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

The building is closed on New Year's Day, July 4th, Thanksgiving, and Christmas, and during the month of August.